

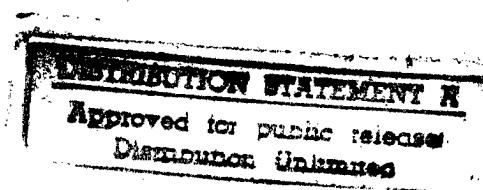
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9 February 1984

USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS



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9 February 1984

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POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL

U.S., ISRAEL WARNED ON 'CONSEQUENCES' OF ATTACKING 'SOVIET-BACKED SYRIA'

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 6 Dec 83 pp 2-3

[Article under the headline: "APN Informs and Comments"]

[Text] Yet, another American-Israeli close rapprochement triggered off an escalation of violence in the Middle East, as it was expected, writes E. Ryabtsev, NOVOSTI political analyst. Hardly had the Israeli prime minister returned to his residence than his aviation dealt a massive strike at the Syrian contingent from the Arab peace-keeping force in Lebanon and at the positions of the national-patriotic forces in that country.

After the Israeli aviation U.S. aircraft based on aircraft-carriers of the Sixth Fleet dealt a blow on Sunday. Three U.S. aircraft did not return to their decks after this piratic raid. Despite this the Pentagon's boss, Caspar Weinberger, declared that the "flights" over Syrian positions would continue. In short, Washington obviously intends to fan the flames of a big military conflagration in the region. If these losses do not teach anything [to] the United States, what is to be expected of it tomorrow?

Judging by all, the Reagan administration thinks that it can treat small countries in the Middle East just as it treats Grenada. After the Sunday bombing of Syrian positions President Reagan actually supported the statement of his defense secretary, having demanded "freedom of action" for his air pirates. For his part, the Israeli prime minister stressed that this was just the beginning of the joint efforts of the two countries to develop their military-political cooperation. Today this cooperation represents joint armed brigandage in the Middle East.

Washington and Tel Aviv should realize that a "Grenadan approach" to the Soviet-backed Syria is fraught with unpredictable consequences for those who encroach on its independence. U.S.-Israeli strategic partners should not forget that the Syrians are strong enough to defend themselves. A play with fire may cost much to Israel and to the United States itself. Today, the flames of an undeclared war have scorched the wings of just some of the U.S. and Israeli military pirates. Tomorrow hundreds of foreign interventionists may be victimized.

CSO: 1812/90

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FINANCING, DEMOCRATIC CRITICISM OF REAGAN NOTED

Moscow Television Service in Russian 1940 GMT 9 Jan 84

[From the "World Today" program presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] There is one problem that will from the very first be at the center of the election campaign in the United States. As the ABC television company put it, the first thing is money. The question of how much money for mounting his election campaign is held by one candidate or another for the post of president is now widely discussed on all television channels in the United States and in newspapers and magazines.

For example, the Democrats think that Mondale has received more than the others, while Jesse Jackson has not had anything. [shots of Mondale addressing meeting] It is being reported that financial difficulties in staging his election campaign are even being experienced by the former cosmonaut and current Senator Glenn. Well, it is reported on the election fund of the current President, Reagan, only that in the last quarter of the past year more than \$3.5 million were put in.

These are the sums that one needs to command in the United States in order to participate in the election campaign. As for political problems, topical issues of U.S. foreign policy dominate these in the election campaign more and more. A group of Democratic congressmen jointly with the national committee of the Democratic Party, has published a report that lays out the bases of the election platform of the largest opposition bourgeois party of the United States.

This report says that the foreign policy of the Reagan administration is--I quote--a disgraceful list of failures and defeats. The report particularly notes that the current Washington administration has complicated relations with the Soviet Union to an extreme pitch. The spiral of the arms race continues to rise, and under such conditions neither Americans nor the peoples of other countries feel themselves more secure. The authors of the report call the Washington doctrine on the possibility of victory in a nuclear war dangerous, and point out that the present U.S. administration is not at all interested in arms control. Nevertheless, the Democratic Party document stresses, it is precisely arms control that serves the common interests of both the United States and the USSR in promoting the prevention of nuclear war.

The Democratic Party also sharply criticizes the Near East policy of the Reagan government. All aspirants to the post of president from this party advocate the withdrawal of American troops from Lebanon. However, Washington meanwhile continues to increase the U.S. military presence in the Near East.

INTERNATIONAL

USSR, CUBA TO INCREASE AID TO ANGOLA

Soviet-Cuban-Angolan Meeting

LD131810 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 13 Jan 84

[Text] The Soviet Union, Angola and Cuba have met in Moscow to discuss the situation in and around Angola. Commentary by Leonid Levchenko of our staff:

The consultations were prompted by the state of affairs in the African south which has been worsening as a result of the South African aggression against Angola. South Africa continues to ignore the Security Council's demand for an end to its intervention. Despite loud promises to start pulling back its troops, Pretoria still occupies part of Angola. According to the Angolan radio, the South African Government is now trying to divert attention from its aggression against Angola and perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia. The South African troops and foreign mercenaries with air support are stepping up the invasion. They brutally are killing civilians using chemical weapons.

Pretoria has the nerve to be so defiant because it feels support and encouragement from Washington and other NATO capitals. These continue to supply the racist regime with weapons in violation of--United Nations bans. In these circumstances, Angola needs help to repulse the aggression. It has been attacked with various degrees of severity since becoming a People's Republic. The first Angolan president, Agostinho Neto, turned to friendly Cuba for help, as the United Nations Charter permits. The help of the Cubans was praised by the Organization of African Unity and an overwhelming majority of African nations.

In their joint statement on 5 February 1982, the Cuban and Angolan foreign ministers said that the Cuban troops were staying on in Angola to help it train its armed forces for defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity because Angola was threatened and attacked by the South African racist regime, imperialist powers and their mercenaries and puppets. The document said that Cuba would withdraw its troops only if and when the Angolan Government would ask it to do so and if there was no more danger of outside aggression. The current attack supported by the United States and other NATO countries shows that this danger has increased.

In a recent statement by the Soviet news agency TASS the Soviet Union strongly demanded that the racist regime stop its aggression against Angola and withdraw its troops from the areas it occupies. It said aggression should not be left without punishment. At the Moscow consultations with Angola, the Soviet Union and Cuba pledged solidarity with the Angolans' work to defend their revolutionary gains. It was agreed to continue helping Angola to strengthen its defenses, independence and territorial integrity.

Reasons for Increased Aid

LD150028 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 14 Jan 84

[Text] The Soviet Union and Cuba are to render additional assistance to Angola, which is bending every effort in repulsing the aggression of South Africa and actions of the South Africa-supported UNITA grouping. The agreement on that score was reached during recent Soviet-Angolan-Cuban consultations in Moscow. And Andrey Dolgov has this comment:

The socialist countries' solidarity with Angola, reaffirmed once again in the consultations in Moscow, has never been limited to moral or political support alone. In the year between 1975 and 1976 the Soviet Union and Cuba, the Cuban soldier internationalists, helped the Angolans to defend their revolution and their justly won freedom and independence. The presence of the Cuban military contingent in Angola at the request of the Angola Government has been helping ensure the country's security.

The Treaty of Friendship signed between the Soviet Union and Angola was another step towards promoting all-round cooperation between the two countries--cooperation in strengthening Angola's defense capabilities, since Angola, more than any other frontline country, remains to be a target for South African attack and subversive activities of racist agents. By launching large-scale military operations against Angola in the middle of December last year, in which large contingents of troops, artillery, chemical arms, and aircraft were used, South Africa hopes to expand the already occupied zone in the south of Angola and at the same time provide (?its) support for the UNITA bands.

The strategic aim of South Africa and her supporter, the United States, remains unchanged: to force Angola to give up support for the SWAPO liberation movement in Namibia at the minimum, and at maximum, to ensure the pullout of the Cuban contingent from Angola and then overthrow the progressive government in Luanda. Pretoria's decision to escalate raids against Angola and its disregard for the Security Council's demand for an immediate withdrawal of the South African troops from Angolan territory rests on the effective backing received from the United States. It keeps delivering military equipment, as other Western countries do, to the South African regime.

The Soviet Union reacted to the escalation of aggression by South Africa against Angola by issuing a warning to South Africa and demanding full withdrawal of her troops from Angola. A statement of the Soviet news agency TASS

called for international actions in defense of Angola to check the schemes of the aggressor and its benefactors. Reports coming from Angola say, however, that South Africa has no intention of stopping aggression. The UN Secretary General pointed out in his recent report to the Security Council that the South African troops continued fighting deep inside Angola.

Under these circumstances, the agreement between the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Angola on additional help in strengthening Angola's defenses is a necessary move taken in keeping with the commitment that the three friendly countries are bound with. This move stands in agreement with Article (?51) of the United Nations Charter, granting Angola the right to take all the necessary steps in order to protect her sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. This move also stands in agreement with the provisions of the Security Council resolution calling on all the countries, members of the United Nations organizations, to render Angola necessary assistance in her efforts to repulse South African aggression.

And, finally, the Soviet and Cuban help to Angola stands in agreement, inherent in all the socialist countries, with the spirit of internationalism and fraternal revolutionary solidarity with the peoples fighting against the imperialist policy of dictation and aggression for the right to choose their way of development, the way of freedom, independence, and social progress.

CSO: 1812/92

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET-MONGOLIAN SYMPOSIUM ON NATIONALITIES POLICY, INTERNATIONALISM HELD

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 83 pp 142-146

[Article by V.N. Kovalenko and T.G. Artemova: "The Dialectics of National and International in the Socialist Way of Life (Soviet-Mongolian Symposium)"]

[Text] This theme was the subject of a Soviet-Mongolian symposium held 19-20 October 1982 in Moscow. The work of the symposium was participated in on the Soviet side by scholars of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow University, the Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Moscow State Institute of International Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and on the Mongolian side by scholars from the Institute of Social Sciences attached to the MPRP Central Committee.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences P.P. Lopata (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) opened the symposium and presented an address "Pertinent Problems in the Relation of the National and International in the Development of the Socialist Way of Life."

He pointed out that in the fraternal family of the socialist community the workers of the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic were jointly engaged with other peoples in intensive constructive work. The USSR and the MPR are at different stages of development. Nonetheless they have the same social-economic and public-political system and their prevailing ideology is Marxism-Leninism. In their development, the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism are strikingly manifested.

Measures for transition to an intensive path of economic development, adoption of the latest achievements of the scientific-technical revolution, a course of developing a coordinated economic policy and expansion of the processes of cooperation and specialization on the scale of the community, outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress, the 18th MPRP Congress and congresses of other fraternal parties, will contribute to the mutual enrichment of the way of life of the peoples of these countries and to the strengthening of the material basis of its internationalization in combination with the all-round growth of its national manifestations.

The process of bolstering the unity of the national and international in the way of life of the peoples of the socialist countries, P.P. Lopata said, proceeds along the line of continued developed of economic integration, which constitutes the material base of the given process and along the line of strengthening the political unity of socialist countries as well as expansion of interstate cooperation of the socialist countries.

"Formation of the Socialist Way of life of the Mongolian People, Its Basic Traits and Features" served as the topic of the address by Prof A. Minis (Institute of Social Sciences attached to the MPRP Central Committee). Establishment of the way of life of any people, he pointed out, is connected with the development of material production and the character of social, especially production, relations, in other words, with the dominant method of production. The process of establishment and development of the socialist way of life of the Mongolian people has two basic stages. The first stage takes in the period from 1921 through 1960 and corresponds to the transitional period from feudalism to socialism. Its full accomplishment was characterized by the decisive victory of socialist production relations in all sectors of the national economy. The radical change in the method of production of material wealth was accompanied by changes just as radical in the people's way of life. From this moment the second stage began in the forming of the socialist way of life of the Mongolian people, which continues to the present time.

The achievements in the social-economic, political and cultural fields of the country's social life and the solution of important social problems were accompanied by significant changes in the methods and forms of the people's life activity. Socialism radically changed the character of labor and created economic conditions for the new relations of the people in the process of production. Thanks to the socialist changes in the field of culture, the people had the opportunity of broadly familiarizing themselves with the values of national and world culture.

In the MPR, the process of formation of the socialist way of life is being accomplished in specific conditions. In particular, individual quantitative indicators of the material and cultural level of the population's life are lower here compared to certain other countries of the socialist community. As a consequence of this, it is necessary to expend much manpower, energy and resources for the solution of those problems which in other countries were either solved long ago or are being successfully solved. Further development and improvement of the socialist way of life in the MPR will depend on the solution of a number of important problems connected to objective conditions and subjective factors.

Today party, state and all public organizations and all communists of the republic are engaged in multifaceted work relating to the implementation of the decisions of the 18th MPRP Congress, including the task of improving the socialist way of life set by it.

The report of Doctor of Historical Sciences M.I. Kulichenko (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) "Theoretical-Methodological Aspects of the Dialectics of the National and International in the

"Socialist Way of Life" disclosed the substance of the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state in ensuring an optimal combination of the national and international in the Soviet people's way of life. M.I. Kulichenko pointed out that in investigation of developmental problems of the socialist way of life it is necessary to take into account changes in the social structure of Soviet society corresponding to the level of manifestation of the leading role of the Soviet working class under developed socialism. And today, he said, the Leninist thesis retains its importance to the effect that without elucidation of changes in the social structure of society and power it would not be possible to take a single step in any field of social activity (see: Lenin, V.I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 20, p 186). V.I. Lenin also taught to carefully take into consideration the class scale of national development and the nonuniformity of the class composition of different nations (See: Ibidem, Vol 36, p 98; Vol 24, p 394).

The unity level of the national and international depends on the sphere of social life in which it is manifested. It is possible to speak of nondivisibility and even a fusion of the national and international as applied to the sphere of economic life: the development of the single national-economic complex of the USSR and the economy of each of its republics occurs in organic unity and on the basis of a single plan. A somewhat different level of unity of the national and international is manifested in the field of social structure and in the sphere of political life, inasmuch as special features still exist in the operation of the organs of union and national state organization and in the social-political activity of the workers. The biggest differences in the manifestation of the national and international remain in the sphere of culture and in the moral-psychological sphere.

The dynamics of dialectical unity and the relation of the national to the international in the socialist way of life depends on many factors: the level of maturity of all society and each nation and nationality comprising it as well as success in equalizing the levels of their development; the depth and scale of internationalization and so on. The national and international in the socialist way of life are features that are not isolated from each other. With a rising level of maturity of society, of each nation and nationality and of successes in improvement of socialist national relations, the internationalization of all spheres of social life is deepened, thanks to which the national is raised to the level of the international and this latter enriches and makes all national values increasingly more progressive.

Prof E.V. Tadevosyan, doctor of philosophical sciences (Moscow State Institute of International Relations) presented a report "The Unity of National and International in the Constitutional Bases of the Soviet Way of Life." He pointed out that the internationalist nature of the Soviet socialist state system finds its logical expression in the national form. The organic unity of the international and national in the Soviet state system consists of the fact that socialist, internationalist statehood is not non-national, while the national Soviet state system is international. Under contemporary conditions, the real bearer and expresser of genuine national interests and needs of progress of nations can only be the socialist, internationalist state system. For this reason, real growth of national statehood is possible and actually

exists in the USSR on an internationalist, socialist, Soviet base. In turn, the interests of strengthening and further development of the Soviet socialist state system require attentive consideration of national factors. Therefore, under the conditions of a multinational country, the internationalist nature of the socialist state system necessarily receives its adequate realization in national forms.

The extremely significant changes occurring in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society and the deep democratism of our state have received a concentrated expression in the 1977 USSR Constitution as well as in the constitutions of union and autonomous republics adopted on its basis and in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

The harmonious unity of union and national statehood in the Soviet multinational state is shown in the fact that the creation and strengthening of union statehood have been and continue to be a most important condition and primary guarantee of the successful development and all-round improvement of the national statehood of the republics. In the strengthening of the unity and might of the USSR as a whole, all the union republics see the chief source of their development and strengthening of their sovereignty. The national Soviet state system in turn serves as an important factor in the consolidation of the social and international unity of the Soviet people, strengthening of their union statehood and development of socialist democracy.

Candidate of Historical Sciences B. Sum'ya (Institute of Social Sciences under the MPRP Central Committee) presented the report "The Process of Internationalization of the MPR Economy and Its Influence on the Forming of the Socialist Way of Life." The formation of the only way of life for the peoples of socialist countries and growth in it of common international features, he said, are the result of two basic factors--communality of the social-economic system in socialist countries and internationalization of all spheres of social life within the framework of world socialism.

With the formation of the world system of socialism, the international ties of Mongolia expanded significantly. From this time on, they began to bear a many-sided character. The entry of Mongolia into the CEMA in 1962 marked a new stage in the development of socialist internationalization of social life in the country. Today the process of Mongolia's rapprochement with the countries of socialism has entered a new stage and plays a decisive role in the social-economic development of Mongolia and improvement of the socialist way of life of the Mongolian people.

Thanks to the many-sided economic aid of the fraternal countries, the development of the production and social-everyday infrastructure on the basis of new regional production complexes, the sectorial and regional structure of the republic's national economy is being improved and changes are taking place in the educational and vocational level of workers and in the class composition of the Mongolian people. Rapprochement of the socialist countries and internationalization of their economic life are a law-conforming, natural historic process stemming from the nature of the new socialist society and its international nature. For this reason, the education of Mongolian workers in the spirit of friendship with the peoples of the fraternal countries are

especially pertinent. The collective experience of communist and workers parties shows that friendly ties of peoples are only durable and strong when the international feeling becomes an indissoluble composite element of every citizen's outlook and his ideological-moral norm. Otherwise economic and other ties of peoples, having no solid philosophical basis in the consciousness of the masses, are unable to fully disclose their vast possibilities. The internationalization of the social-economic and spiritual life in Mongolia serves as one of the important factors in the further improvement of the socialist way of life.

"The combination of national and international interests in the world socialist community was the theme of the report of Prof A.P. Sertsova, doctor of philosophical sciences (Moscow University). The problem of unity of the countries of the socialist community' has many aspects. Among them, the relation of national to international interests occupies an important place in determination of the political line of the socialist states and in the matter of their rapprochement, accelerated development, consolidation and further change in the correlation of world forces in favor of socialism.

The socialist community is characterized by a harmonious combination of national state and international interests. But in it, contradictions are not excluded that have a nonantagonistic character and are due to historical conditions, developmental difficulties and subjective and objective factors of an internal and external character. All these contradictions are overcome on the basis of strengthening the unity and cooperation of the countries of the socialist community and their unshakable decision to strengthen and defend the gains of socialism.

Prof A.G. Zdravomyslov, doctor of philosophical sciences (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to CPSU Central Committee), presented the report "The Social Policy of the CPSU and National Relations." He pointed out that the basic requirements for conducting a national policy under the conditions of a multinational socialist state had been formulated by V.I. Lenin. He spoke of the need to take into consideration "concrete questions of each nation in accordance with the level of its development, its special features and so on"; "to unite the territorial and the extraterritorial principle"; to provide for the "closest union with the Russian laboring masses" (Lenin, V.I., Ibidem, Vol 39, p 462). All these requirements retain their importance today.

Social processes, occurring with greater or lesser intensity in our country's republics, are accompanied by a leveling out of the levels of their economic and cultural development and have contributed to the further development of national relations. With the development of new requirements, there took place a marked heightening of interest in national culture and national history of each people and significant changes occurred in the sphere of national consciousness. The opportunities and practice of international contacts expanded and internationalist tendencies in relations between republics and peoples of our country became stronger. This contributed to dissolution of stereotypes, which exerted a considerable influence on the character of international contacts in the past.

At the same time there occurred the further rapprochement of basic classes and social groups of socialist society with respect to each other and a dissolution of class barriers. As a result of this, class differences stopped acting as bases of national differences, and national differences themselves ceased being a form of expression of class differences, as was the case in antagonistic society.

A very important means of strengthening trust between the nations and nationalities of our Motherland exists in the implementation of the social policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government, which has for its direction the solution of questions that are vital for all nations and nationalities, ensuring the rapprochement of the basic classes and social groups of Soviet society on the basis of the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye.S. Troitskiy (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) in the report "Analysis of Problems of Economic Unity of Socialist Nations and Exposure of Its Bourgeois Falsifications" showed that public ownership of the means of production and the entire socialist economic system serves as the basis for development of the socialist way of life. On the basis of socialist ownership and the single national-economic complex of the USSR, economic, political and culture ties among nations and nationalities are strengthened and the unity of the Soviet people as a social and international association of people is reinforced.

Strengthening of the single national-economic complex, permeated by the harmonious unity of the international and national, lies at the developmental basis of the socialist way of life. It is no accident that questions of the international and national in the Soviet way of life serve as the object of constant attacks on the part of the ideologues of imperialism. In this connection, Ye.S. Troitskiy noted, major importance is to be attached to the deduced exposure of anticommunist distortions of the relation of the national to the international in socialist society.

"Growth of the Cultural Level of MPR Workers and Its Role in the Establishment of the Socialist Way of Life" was the theme of the talk by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences S. Dashdavy (Institute of Social Sciences of the MPRP Central Committee). In speaking of the significance of the various sides of the social life of people for the forming of the new way of life, he emphasized the principled role played by culture in this process. It "directly" permeates the way of life as its important side, directly aiming at the improvement both of the individual and of society as a whole.

Therefore, the interaction of culture and the socialist way of life can be considered on two planes. On the one hand, as the attained level of material and spiritual wealth influences the socialist way of life and, on the other, as actual activity in the field of culture influences other forms of people's life activity.

A necessary element of the socialist way of life is growth of the cultural level of workers. Today, the task of carrying out universal incomplete secondary education has basically been fulfilled in our country, and the task now

is implementation of universal full secondary education of children of school age. The speaker presented the most important aspects of the influence of the cultural level of Mongolian workers on the establishment of such important aspects of the socialist way of life as attitude toward labor and social-political activity.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A.Ye. Krukhmalev (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) presented a report "The Leading Role of the Working Class in Ensuring Unity of the National and International in the Socialist Way of Life." He expressed the opinion that a system forming factor of this or that way of life was the method of attaining social interest conditioned by the position of people in public production. In a class society, each class, occupying a special place within the system of public production and division of labor, has its own basic interest and therefore has his own way of life. In touching upon the question of the relation of the national to the international, the speaker emphasized that class interests are determining in relation to national interests, while priority in the interaction of the international and the national belongs to the international.

Candidate of Philosophical Sciences B.I. Yeremeyev (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) pointed out in his address "The International Character of the Socialist Way of Life of Rural Inhabitants" that the socialist way of life acquires the characteristics of a qualitatively new phenomenon in world civilization, one of which is uninterrupted growth of the social-political and labor activity of the masses. Being essentially in opposition to the bourgeois way of life, permeated with the spirit of egoism, self-interest, a utilitarian pragmatic attitude toward reality, indifference to the fate of other people, the socialist way of life affirms attitudes of good will and mutual aid among people and the feeling of proletarian solidarity and paternal cooperation of peoples and nations.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.A. Shuvalov (Institute of Philosophy of the USSR Academy of sciences) in his report "Internationalist Values of the Socialist Individual" pointed out that in the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, an individual of a new social type is being developed. The socialist individual possesses a number of internationalist values. The most important among them are the ideas and principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, international interests and international duty.

It was pointed out in the report that the international values of the new man are based on revolutionary views, convictions and moral-political norms which determine the political orientation of the socialist individual in the complex labyrinth between international and class-political problem. Internationalist social qualities and the ideological direction of the new man were formed by the whole mode of life of socialist society and the revolutionary traditions of the working class and are being inculcated in the broad masses by the Marxist-Leninist party and the socialist state.

The report of Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A.V. Dmitriyev (Institute of Marxism-Leninism attached to the CPSU Central Committee) dealt with the theme "Democracy and the Personality: International Aspect." The question of the

relation of the personality of socialist society to democracy," the speaker said, "should not be considered apart from the processes going on in the contemporary world. Under the conditions of socialism, the personality is characterized by devotion to the ideals of socialism and communism, labor and political activeness, collectivism, patriotism, internationalism and other features reflecting those social relations which are to be found in socialist countries at one or another state of development. Each socialist country under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party has enriched the common laws, forms and methods of building socialism and communism. On the whole, the political system of socialism is structurally designed and functions in such a way as to provide for the popular masses real and manifold possibilities for participation in the democratic operation of society.

On the whole, the symposium, coinciding with the 60th anniversary of the USSR, has made a definite contribution to the scientific investigation of pertinent problems of the relation of the national to the international in the socialist way of life and to the further strengthening of the cooperation of Soviet and Mongolian social scientists.

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INTERNATIONAL

GROWING THIRD-WORLD 'DEPENDENCE' ON WEST SEEN

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 4-8

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Kiva: "The National Liberation Movement: Certain Particular Features in the Present Stage of Development"]

[Text] Probably never since the time of the final collapse of the imperialist colonial system has the national liberation movement developed under such difficult conditions as at present. On the one hand, in the 1970's it made enormous strides ahead and, on the other, at the beginning of the 1980's encountered an intense and large-scale counteroffensive by imperialism.

Literally in a few years the progressive forces in the zone of the national liberation movement made a series of major assaults on the positions of imperialism and its local minions, the landlords, feudal lords, the monopolistic, compradore, bureaucratic bourgeoisie acting as the proponent of imperialism's policy of dependent neocolonial development. These assaults occurred in areas which imperialism, primarily American, viewed chiefly as if not its patrimony at least a sphere of its influence. The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam accelerated the revolutionary changes in Laos and created conditions for the elimination of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea and, certainly, altered the balance of forces in the area not in imperialism's favor.

The collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa resulted in the rise of progressive regimes in its place and this meant not only the loss of positions by imperialism in this in-all-respects important area of the African continent but also a worsening of the strategic position of the racist-colonial regime in South Africa where, from the second half of the 1970's, there has been a sharp rise in the liberation struggle. This is precisely how the situation was viewed in Washington, in the other Western capitals as well as in Pretoria. One other African country, Ethiopia, after the 1974 revolution, ceased being a bridgehead of American imperialism in the Red Sea Basin and it joined the ranks of the fighters against colonialism and neocolonialism and for social progress. The defeat of American imperialism in Iran where the Shah's regime was viewed in Washington as their dependable ally which would willingly carry out policeman functions in the region in the interests of the White House, was perceived with particular chagrin by the U.S. Administration. It is also better not to speak of the Afghan revolution and the related subsequent events as this opened up for the Afghan people a development prospect along the path of progress and true national independence and made an important contribution to the national liberation movement in the region.

Over the designated period, the conclusion of the CPSU and the international communist movement was fully confirmed that the social content of the national liberation revolutions has grown deeper. The fighters for national and social liberation have become more mature and experienced in ideological and political terms. This has been reflected, in the first place, in their more critical attitude toward the former metropolitan areas and toward imperialism which has opposed the true freedom and independence of the young states and has conducted subversive activities against them. Secondly, the progressive patriotic forces in the former colonies and semicolonies more and more often have begun to look at the countries of real socialism as their natural allies. There is a growing tendency toward internationalist cooperation with the socialist world and with the world revolutionary movement. More and more often the principle of proletarian internationalism has taken the place of a policy of "equal distance" from the capitalist and socialist states. This bespeaks both an understanding on the part of the progressive detachments of revolutionary democracy of the class nature of the struggle between world socialism and world capitalism as well as the high authority of the USSR and the other states of real socialism in the eyes of the peoples in the former enslaved countries and a profound trust in the policy carried out by the socialist world.

Finally, the higher political maturity of the revolutionary and patriotic forces in the former colonies and semicolonies has also been expressed in the practice of the socioeconomic changes. With each year these become more profound and consistent, creating the prerequisites for ultimately becoming irreversible.

In the 1970's, the number of socialist oriented countries increased. At present, they number around 20 and the socialist orientation has won a place for itself in Latin America, too. For example, Nicaragua made such a choice. There are many young states which in the near future can set out on this path if the insipient progressive changes in them will be continued with proper consistency.

As a consequence, a majority of the states which opted for the socialist orientation in the 1970's has proclaimed scientific socialism as their official ideology. Here one can feel the lessons of the class struggle and the acquired political experience to which V. I. Lenin gave such enormous significance. As a result little room has been left for those illusions which were husbanded by many revolutionary-democratic leaders in the 1960's on the possibility of building socialism by some "third way," without a class struggle, without a revolutionary theory and without internationalist ties with real socialism.

The people's democratic trend has been an important indicator of the successful development of the revolutionary process in the zone of the national liberation movement in the 1970's. This trend has been gaining strength in such countries as Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen, Ethiopia and certain others. A number of the ruling revolutionary parties in the socialist oriented countries such as, for example, FRELIMO, the MPLA--Labor Party, the Yemen Socialist Party, the Congolese Labor Party as well as the Commission to Organize an Ethiopian Labor Party (COELP) in recent years have taken important steps along the path of becoming parties with a scientific-socialist ideology.

Imperialism undertook a counteroffensive in individual areas of the zone of the national liberation movement in an attempt to recover lost positions or to compensate for their loss by strengthening its influence in other regions of the developing world. From the viewpoint of the historical prospective, such plans are unfounded. However, this does not exclude a temporary strengthening of imperialism's positions in one or another region of the zone of the national liberation movement. The main focal points of imperialism's counteroffensive in the Afro-Asian world are the Near East and the south of Africa.

Imperialism with good reason chose the Arab East as one of the basic objects of its broad-scale counteroffensive. Particular importance is given to this region as it lies in direct proximity to the southern boundaries of the USSR, it holds an advantageous strategic position on the boundary of Europe, Asia and Africa, it is exceptionally rich in natural resources, in particular, energy sources (oil and gas), and important sea lanes pass by here. The countries of the Near East region have long been favored by imperialism as a rather large market for industrial goods and weapons, a highly profitable sphere for investing capital and at the same time as a major source of foreign exchange in the form of "petrodollars."

A number of circumstances has objectively assisted in the interventionist policy of imperialism in the Arab East. Egypt--the largest country in the region--was removed by Sadat from the ranks of the forces opposing the aggressive policy of Israel and the expansion of imperialism. The Arab world underwent a split which was deepened precisely by the Camp David deal. The Iranian-Iraqi military conflict which has already cost tens of thousands of lives has "operated" in this same direction.

The processes of economic and socioclass differentiation in the Arab countries, in being accelerated by the influx of the enormous financial assets from oil sales, have led to the appearance of individual regimes and sociopolitical forces which evidence a class interest in strengthening ties with the leading capitalist countries, primarily the United States.

Israel, relying on its "strategic alliance" with the United States and having received the "OK" from Washington, was fully aware that the conservative forces in the Arab world which more and more often acted with an eye to the White House would not actively resist Israeli aggression in Lebanon. The conservative forces themselves were interested in not allowing the further development of the Arab national liberation movement, in weakening its vanguard, the Palestine Resistance Movement and the Lebanese national-patriotic forces and in achieving a degeneration of the revolutionary-patriotic regimes. Incidentally, Washington was counting precisely on these coinciding interests when it constructed its plans to bring Israel closer to the Arab conservative regimes. (Of course, the alliance conceived by Washington in the Near East must not be understood in an oversimplified manner, considering the factor of Islam, Arab nationalism and so forth.) In carrying out its expansionistic plans in the region, it was sufficient for the White House to "neutralize" a majority of the Arab states (under the condition that it would keep its dependable allies and military bases here). The statement by the communist and worker parties in the Arab countries, as adopted at the conference in June 1983, states that "American imperialism and Israel are relying on the Arab reaction and are

putting the oil and financial resources available to it to serve their own interests."

In returning to the Iranian-Iraqi conflict, we would add, as is emphasized in the mentioned statement, that it is advantageous only to American imperialism, Israel, the Arab and Iranian reaction and "helps to strengthen reactionary trends in the policy of the ruling circles in this region's countries."

We know that imperialism has endeavored to utilize the lack of settlement in the Near East conflict and the related conditions of the fierce, debilitating clash of a number of Arab countries with Israel for encouraging pro-capitalist trends, for impeding social progress in individual countries and for changing the balance of forces in them in favor of the reactionary-bourgeois, collaborationist elements. This tactic has succeeded in Egypt.

Imperialism also considered the fact of the lack of unity in the ranks of the progressive forces of the Arab world.

Soviet literature has analyzed in detail the plans of Israel and imperialism which stands behind it for the Near East region in the context of Tel-Aviv's aggression in Lebanon. In particular, Israel has posed the following goals for itself: to split the Palestinian resistance movement, to make Lebanon dependent upon Israel, to create difficult conditions for Syria, having forced it ultimately to join the "Camp David process" and recognize the de facto annexation of the Golan Heights and at the same time to force Jordan to surrender and generally to impose its will on its neighbors. It has worked to undermine the ties of the Arab countries with the USSR and the other progressive forces in the world, to seal off the revolutionary process in the Arab world and to create favorable conditions for the even broader penetration of American and international imperialism into this region in order to alter the balance of forces in its favor on a scale going far beyond the limits of the Near East region.

These hopes have not come about. But imperialism and Israel acting its weapon (regardless of their noncoinciding interests which, incidentally, are consciously exaggerated by bourgeois propaganda) have in no way abandoned their intentions. Their counteroffensive in the Near and Middle East is continuing. The direct and indirect influence of imperialism on the events in Iran is becoming evermore apparent. Its ideological subversion in this country has already dealt more than one blow to the Iranian revolution which, being powerless to resolve the social problems in the interests of the working masses, of defending their democratic freedoms or ensuring elementary civil rights, more and more is degenerating and discrediting itself in the eyes of even the least politically refined strata of the population who are profoundly devoted to Islam. The United States has not given up on the idea of again turning Iran into its outpost in Western Asia.

Israel in every possible way has impeded the resolving of problems related to the events around Afghanistan and is putting pressure on Pakistan and Iran to support the bandits. The Near and Middle East is viewed by the Reagan Administration as a region of the global clash between capitalism and world socialism.

It seems to us that the key question on the outcome of the current counter-attacks by imperialism is whether or not the progressive and all the patriotic forces in the region will be able to overcome the split and realize that the future of the Arab countries is at stake. Ultimately, much more powerful forces are interested in independent national development than are those which stand for an alliance with neocolonialism and for subordinating the national interests of the liberated countries to the global interests of world imperialism.

As is known, after the Reagan Administration came to power, U.S. relations with South Africa became even closer. Now South Africa is viewed actually as an ally of Washington. This has strengthened the aggressiveness of the racist-colonial regime and has involved a change in the situation in the south of Africa as a whole.

Encouraged by the United States and the so-called contact group (the United States, England, France, West Germany and Canada), Pretoria has hardened its position on the Namibian problem. The government of P. Botha, with the participation of the West, has sought to create in Namibia a puppet regime which would be completely dependent upon South Africa and the leading capitalist powers of the West investing large amounts in exploiting the natural riches of this country.

Correspondingly the line has been maintained of not allowing the patriotic forces to come to power in the form of SWAPO (Southwest African People's Organization) which for many years has waged a bloody struggle against the South African occupiers, for the freedom and independence of their homeland. SWAPO has been recognized by the United Nations and by all progressive mankind as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

During the last 2 years, the Pretoria regime has changed over to outright aggressive actions against the "frontline states," particularly Angola and Mozambique as well as Lesotho, Botswana and Zambia. (Pretoria has announced that South Africa will attack the bases of the SWAPO partisans as well as those of the ANC or the African National Congress of South Africa which head the liberations movements, respectively, in Namibia and South Africa.) A stake is being made on destabilizing the situation in these countries, and in certain instances on overthrowing the regimes existing in them.

It has become a thing of the past for Pretoria to resort to the tactics of "building bridges" between South Africa and the neighboring countries. Its essence was that Pretoria was trying to neutralize a whole series of independent African states and to make them a sort of buffer between South Africa, on the one hand, and those countries, predominantly of a progressive social orientation, which were acting decisively to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism on the continent and provide aid to the African liberation movements. South Africa provided these countries with financial, technical and economic aid and endeavored to integrate their economy into its own economic system and by using various tricks to assume control of their army, police, security service and so forth. The brunt of this tactic was aimed at Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and a number of other countries. Ultimately this tactic failed. Only Malawi remained in the sphere of influence of South Africa. At the same time, some of

the neighboring nations have maintained a significant economic dependence on South Africa; many of their citizens are employed in South Africa and the money sent home by them serves not only as a source of existence for their family but also as an important item in the budget receipts of these young states. This is an objective reality and it has put the "frontline countries" in an even more difficult situation under the conditions of their confrontation with the racist-colonial regime.

A new aspect in South African policy toward virtually all the "frontline states" is a desire to actively support (arm, finance and provide with means of transport) the puppet splinter groupings fighting against them or to create antigovernment movements from scratch. As is known, such organizations include in Angola UNITA ("National Union for the Total Independence of Angola"), in Mozambique the MNR ("National Resistance Movement") and in Lesotho the "Lesotho Liberation Army." Subversive groups are being sent constantly into Zimbabwe and Zambia.

Certain facts must be kept in mind in order to realistically perceive the scale of South African aggressive actions against the independent African states, in particular Angola and Mozambique, the harm caused by it and to fully assess those problems which confront the "frontline states" in line with the present counteroffensive by imperialism in the south of Africa. Angola has been subjected to virtually continuous aggression from South Africa and UNITA which is supported by it, with the South African troops (a portion of which are specially recruited from the black population) operating together with the UNITA bands. They have occupied territory in the south of the nation. The South African press as well as the bourgeois mass information media in the West have termed this area the "zone freed from the Marxists."

Mozambique has also been repeatedly subjected to aggressive actions by South Africa. The aim is the same as in Angola: by armed raids, by reprisals against the representatives of people's power and activists and by subversion to cause as much economic damage to the nation as possible, to exacerbate the economic difficulties and destabilize the situation as a whole.

The heads of the racist-colonial regime are endeavoring to prevent SWAPO from coming to power in Namibia not only now but also in the future and not to allow the development of a liberation movement headed by the ANC in South Africa itself. They would also like to erect a barrier on the path of socialist ideas and the "spread of communism" in the south of Africa, to overthrow the progressive regimes where, as they put it, the "contagion of communism" has already penetrated, to "teach" the other neighboring nations for their support of the liberation movements and hold all independent Africa under their sights. Only under such a condition, they feel in Pretoria, can the apartheid regime extend its existence.

Pretoria's position, naturally, is to the liking of Washington and its present administration, since such a position conforms to its global strategy. Africa for a number of years now, after R. Reagan came to power, in particular, has played an ever-increasing role in U.S. foreign policy.

It is essential to consider the enormous interest of the American monopolies (which the Reagan administration faithfully serves) in maintaining the racist-colonial regime in the south of Africa. The newspaper WASHINGTON POST recently stated that the volume of U.S. investments in the South African economy, probably, has surpassed 14.6 billion dollars. This is much more than the official figure (2.6 billion dollars).

The deterioration in the international climate naturally to one degree or another is felt on the course of the national liberation movement.

The young states in one way or another are strongly effected by the two world social systems and this impact increases during period of heightened conflict between them. But this is not all of the question. The developing world itself, due to socioclass factors, economic interests, political ties and so forth, is being more and more actively involved in this clash. The increasing differentiation is felt everywhere in the zone of the national liberation movement.

This, of course, does not mean that the developing world is "breaking down," losing those features which at one time made it possible to put the former colonies and semicolonies in a definite community, in a special group of states which differed from the capitalist ones and from the socialist ones and were part of neither system. At present, they generally are marked by a backwardness and dependence, an unequal position in the system of the international capitalist division of labor. They are united by an identicalness or similarity of positions on a whole series of problems related to the fight for decolonialization. This also makes possible the existence of the non-alignment movement, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and so forth. (Incidentally, contrary to numerous prophecies by bourgeois political scientists, both the non-alignment movement, the OAU and certain other organizations of the liberated countries have not disintegrated and have not become "relics" but continue to function successfully.)

At the same time, the socioclass differentiation and the varying foreign policy orientation of the young states are becoming evermore apparent in the regional forums and in the non-alignment movement. This was convincingly shown by the Seventh Conference of the Heads of States and Governments from the Non-Aligned Countries. Those young states where the ruling circles have linked their fate with capitalism and with an orientation to the military-political alliances of imperialism, as a rule, spoke out from positions similar to the developed capitalist nations.

Imperialism has succeeded in imposing on a number of the young states its understanding of the reasons for the present deterioration in the international situation and even involve some of them in carrying out policeman functions in the zone of the national liberation movement.

In precisely the same manner, imperialism has been able to involve the ruling circles of individual young countries in the ideological struggle against real socialism.

A person who carefully follows the development of the national liberation movement could note the following pattern: the former colonies and semicolonies are acting with a much higher degree of unity, consistency and decisiveness in carrying out an anti-imperialist, antineocolonial course in their forums (regional, tricontinental and so forth) than in the UN on a global level. What does this mean? In all probability that the liberated countries in their forums possess a greater freedom of action and are less exposed to pressure from the imperialist powers. But this, in turn, gives rise to the question of what is the prime cause of this situation? The answer, in our view, is that the growing dependence of the former colonies upon the developed capitalist countries in the area of receiving economic, financial, scientific-technical, food and other assistance objectively tends to strengthen the influence of imperialism on them.

Let us look at this in somewhat greater detail.

The protracted cyclical crisis of the world capitalist economy to which the economy of the developing countries is tied, the increased prices for oil and industrial goods and, conversely, the drop in prices for a majority of the traditional export commodities of the young states, natural disasters, particularly the severe extended droughts in a whole number of areas on the African continent, mistakes in the economic development strategy and political instability have led to a situation where the economy in a majority of the former colonies and semicolonies by the beginning of the 1980's was in an exceptionally difficult situation. The food problem had become acute. In the 1970's the production of food products on a per capita basis declined, according to some data, in 60 countries and in 15 of these it also declined in gross terms. As a result, food purchases in the developed countries increased. This has told on the increased foreign indebtedness the curve of which at the end of the 1970's and start of the 1980's turned upwards at a stunning pace.

By the start of the 1970's, the developing countries, according to estimates, owed around 100 billion dollars while interest payments were 10-11 billion dollars. At present, according to recent data, their debt has reached 800 billion dollars while payments to retire interest are over 130 billion dollars. As was written by the progressive journal AFRIQUE-ASIE which is published in Paris, "imperialism which has been expelled from the Third World in the geographic sense continues, due to these debts, to intervene actively in the policy of the developing states."

Unfortunately, the liberated countries, particularly those characterized by a monocrop economy, find it difficult to resist those negative trends which arise within the world capitalist economy. As an example, let us take Zambia where the basic export item (providing 95 percent of the foreign exchange earnings) is copper, and neighboring Tanzania which produces coffee and cotton as a traditional export. The Paris newspaper LE MONDE has written: "Copper prices have dropped so far that, having sold a ton of the metal, Zambia can now purchase 4-fold less goods than 10 years ago." Here is what the Tanzanian president J. Nyerere said in one of his speeches: "In 1972, in order to purchase a 7-ton truck, we had to sell 5.2 tons of coffee or 7 tons of cotton. Last year (1980.--A.K.), the same truck could be purchased for 10.3 tons of coffee or 29 tons of cotton."

But not only the debts alarm the community of the liberated countries. They are concerned over whether there will be a greater unilateral dependence of the young states on the former metropolitan areas and the other imperialist countries and whether one is not witnessing a sort of "creeping recolonization"?

Actually there are alarming symptoms: the transnational companies are invading the economy of the liberated countries evermore deeply, linking it ever-closer to the world capitalist economy and taking enormous amounts from it. Thus, according to the estimates of UN experts, the number of branches of 180 American transnational corporations (TNC) in the developing countries has increased over the period from 1950 through 1975 from 324 to 1,463, while the branches of 135 English TNC (1950-1970) rose from 172 to 1,009. According to the official Japanese data, the number of firms with the participation of the Japanese TNC in the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) has risen from 400 in 1970 to 3,200 in 1980, while Japanese investments in these countries are approaching (at mid-1983) 10 billion dollars.

As was emphasized by Academician Ye. M. Primakov, "the neocolonialist strategy of imperialism is aimed at the all-encompassing incorporation of the liberated nations in the capitalist orbit, at tieing the entire 'periphery' by new 'ties' to the capitalist 'center' and continuing exploitation by methods conforming to the changed objective and subjective conditions."

The growing economic dependence of the liberated countries upon the developed capitalist nations, however, should not be interpreted simplistically, that is, as their inevitable "recolonization," even if this word is not taken literally. Other results are possible and can occur, for example, an acute confrontation of the exploited "periphery" of the world capitalist economy with its "center," the breaking of an ever-larger number of young states away from the capitalist method of development and a transition to a socialist orientation. Certainly in the world there are the powerful Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with their constantly growing opportunities to provide aid to the young states in all areas, including economic and scientific-technical.

The difficulty of the situation in the zone of the national liberation movement is determined not only by the fact that imperialism has set out to strengthen its positions here which were seriously undermined in the 1970's but also by its desire to turn the developing world into a stage of confrontation with the Soviet Union and real socialism. Hence the destructive policy of imperialism, first of all, let us repeat, American, toward the events related to Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Indochina as a whole, Southern Africa and Israeli aggression in the Near East. Hence its tactics aimed at maintaining centers of tension or creating new conflict situations if it feels that this is advantageous for the United States and world capitalism and, on the contrary, harmful for the USSR and real socialism. Such a policy is extremely dangerous for the cause of peace with all sorts of consequences.

Equally dangerous is the approach of the Reagan Administration to the changes occurring in the zone of the national liberation movement. These are often interpreted as the result of the "intrigues of the Reds" and so forth. Such an approach--extremely squalid and primitive--is extremely dangerous. It almost

automatically presupposes "countermeasures" from the United States and the West for "thwarting the subversive actions of Moscow" and "world communism." In essence, precisely what the United States is doing in Central America, in endeavoring to suppress the revolution in El Salvador and overthrow the people's power in Nicaragua is what they are undertaking together with their allies and puppets in Chad, intervening in the civil war there on the side of their minion.

Washington beset by the idea of changing the balance of forces between the socialist world and the capitalist world on a global scale, thus, is subordinating its actions in the zone of the national liberation movement to this policy. The creation of new military bases, the modernizing of existing ones, the galvanizing of conflicts, the setting of some countries against others and the concluding of new military groupings are the main area of actions by American imperialism in the developing world.

The White House, in spreading the idea of the "aggressiveness" of Vietnam with the USSR supposedly behind it, is seeking, on the one hand, to isolate Vietnam in Southeast Asia and on the international scene and, on the other, to turn the political and economic organization of ASEAN into a military grouping. It is pursuing an analogous goal (conversion into a military alliance) vis-a-vis the Council for Collaboration Between the Gulf Arab States. The Reagan Administration is not only pushing Japan and the NATO countries toward a more active involvement in carrying out the various functions stemming from the imperial interests of the United States in the zone of the national liberation movement. It is endeavoring to create in the former colonial world permanent centers of confrontation with world socialism as well as centers of pressure on the progressive, anti-imperialist local forces. This is how the United States views Israel in the Near East, Pakistan in the region of the Indian Ocean, South Africa in the south of Africa and so forth. A major stake is being made on forming "subimperialist centers" as was, for example, Iran under the Shah.

To all the other negative consequences of such a U.S. policy, we should add that Washington is fostering an arms race in the developing world and its pace is frighteningly high. The arms race tells in a most negative manner on the liberated countries. It diverts material and human resources from use in productive areas, it increases tension in the relations between states and contributes to the outbreak of conflict situations. Thereby the process of socio-economic development and the elimination of the harsh colonial heritage are retarded.

The related military deliveries from the United States and the other NATO countries are one of the most important means for drawing the developing nations into the orbit of imperialism's aggressive policy (not to mention the enormous profits which the TNC receive from this). The growth of militarism in the developing countries, in turn, leads to stronger authoritarian trends and toward an offensive by the reaction against democratic rights and freedoms of the workers and also tells on their standard of living.

One other feature in the policy of the present Washington Administration in the developing world is that for the sake of opposing progressive changes here,

the United States has not shied away from grouping the most double-dyed reaction around itself. This is particularly apparent from the example of Central America and the south of Africa. In determining its attitude toward the dictatorships and reactionary regimes, the place of the moralizing inherent to J. Carter (in truth, so hypocritical and false) under President R. Reagan has been taken by the criteria of anti-Sovietism and anticomunism.

Imperialism, in the zone of the national liberation movement, is opposed not only by those countries building socialism and the socialist oriented states relying on the aid and support of real socialism. An anti-imperialist line in their policy is followed by many of those liberated states in which capitalism is developing as the leading economic system.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov, in his speech at the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in taking up the countries where a capitalist system has been established, said: "But the aggressive policy of domination and dictatorship carried out by the imperialist powers runs contrary to their objective interests. In endeavoring to overcome the economic backwardness, these nations need equal international collaboration and a lasting peace. Many of them see in their ties with the socialist nations a means of strengthening their independence. Naturally, we, in the future, will carry out a policy of mutually advantageous collaboration with these states, with full respect for their sovereignty and non-intervention into their affairs."

Over the postwar period, imperialism has repeatedly undertaken attacks on the national liberation movement in the aim of preventing the changes which would undermine the positions of the West and open up prospects for social progress and a bringing together of the forces of national and social liberation with the other elements of the world revolutionary process. At times it has caused major defeats to the revolutionary forces in various countries. But imperialism has never succeeded and will never succeed in halting the objective course of the national liberation movement or the struggle of peoples for eliminating national and social oppression.

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INTERNATIONAL

JAPAN: CONTRADICTIONS IN THE STRUCTURAL REORGANIZATION OF INDUSTRY

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 21-23

[Article by I. Lebedeva]

[Text] The question of the need to reorganize the sectorial structure of industry arose in Japan at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's when the negative consequences of the rapid economic growth during the period of the 1950's and 1960's began to become acutely apparent. These consequences included: the significant amounts of the overaccumulation of capital in a number of sectors, the enormous scale of environmental pollution by industrial wastes, the lack of land and water for new industrial construction, the scarcity of certain manpower categories and so forth.

Considering these problems, the predominant development of scientific-intensive sectors and a decline in the share of labor-intensive and ecologically dangerous material-intensive types of production were proposed as the basic area for reorganizing Japanese industry. The energy crisis of 1973-1974 which disclosed the highest vulnerability of Japanese industry among the developed capitalist countries, under the conditions of the increased prices for raw materials and energy, significantly aggravated the need for structural reform, bringing to the forefront the task of reducing the energy and material intensiveness of production.

During the second half of the 1970's and in the beginning of the 1980's, Japan carried out a whole series of measures aimed at forming a new production structure of a scientific-intensive type with low energy and material intensiveness. The basic measures were: financial and credit encouragement by the state of accelerated development for the scientific-intensive machine building production, the scrapping (destruction) of capacity in a number of energy- and material-intensive types of production, the carrying out of a broad range of measures in virtually all sectors for material and energy savings and for converting to producing a product with a higher degree of finishing.¹

¹ Over the 1973-1981 period, the proportional amount of sectors in the machine building complex in the industrial production structure rose from 31.7 to 34.2 percent while the share of energy- and material-intensive types of production dropped from 31.3 to 27.7 percent.

Japan's economic development results after the energy crisis of 1973-1974 make it possible to conclude that in the course of the structural reorganization, it succeeded relatively more successfully than the other capitalist nations in adapting to the new reproduction conditions. Over the period 1975-1982, the physical volume of industrial production in Japan rose by 1.48-fold, while in the developed capitalist nations as a whole only by 1.18-fold. Here the share of Japan in the industrial production of the developed capitalist countries increased, respectively, from 13.2 to 16.3 percent. On the basis of maintaining high competitiveness for its industrial products, Japan has continued to increase its exports to the Western European and American markets. Due to the restructuring of production, to its increased scientific intensiveness and to the reduction in energy and material intensiveness, Japan has been able also to adapt more successfully to the new increased prices for oil in 1979-1980. At the same time that stagnation or a decline in industrial production has been observed in a majority of the capitalist countries in 1980, in Japan its physical volume increased by 10.7 percent. However, the process of forming a new production structure has occurred very painfully.

Regardless of the revival in business starting in 1976, a rather high level of bankruptcy in the industrial enterprises has persisted. The number of such enterprises continued to rise up to the spring of 1978; after a certain decline in the wave of bankruptcies in 1978 and 1979, it again began to increase and in 1980, was 17,900. Only one-half of the enterprises was unable to resume their operations after bankruptcy, and 80 percent of them resorted to cutting back on the amount of production and the number of employees. As a whole, the bankruptcy level among the Japanese industrial enterprises at the end of the 1970's surpassed by 4-fold the analogous indicator for the United States.

The restructuring has also involved significant material losses. The breaking up of the old industrial production structure substantially accelerated during the period of the 1974-1975 crisis. Although at that time the situation deteriorated in virtually all sectors of the manufacturing industry, it was particularly severe in the energy- and material-intensive sectors. The curtailment of production in them and the corresponding decline of their share in industrial production occurred against a sharp drop in the capacity load factor (during the crisis period up to 30-40 percent of the equipment was standing idle).

Under the conditions of the economic revival which commenced in 1977, the situation in these sectors continued to remain severe and the capacity load factor virtually did not rise. This led to a need to use such an extreme measure in restructuring as scrapping production capacity. This began to be carried out as of 1978 in a whole series of the leading sectors of Japanese industry including the production of steel, aluminum, synthetic fibers, fertilizers, cement and machine tools, in the textile industry and so forth. The amount of scrapping which reached from 20 to 40 percent of the total volume of production capacity in the various sectors shows the enormous material outlays which Japanese society has born as a consequence of the need to eliminate the negative consequences of the previous type of industrial development and caused by the uncontrolled growth of the productive forces under the conditions of capitalist production. Here it must be said that within the ruling circles there has been a struggle over the question of the forms of financing the

semi-compulsory scrapping of capacity and that in a number of sectors agreement was not reached between business and the government.

Obviously such a complicated and diverse phenomenon as the restructuring of industry cannot help but influence social processes. As will be shown below, this has introduced serious changes in the situation of the working class.

First of all, it must be pointed out that from 1973, as a result of the mass bankruptcies of industrial enterprises accompanying the restructuring, the scrapping of capacity in a number of sectors and types of production and the making of major investments in labor-saving equipment, the number of persons employed in industry has begun to decline. Over the period of 1973-1971, their total number declined from 14.4 million to 13.85 million persons, or by 3.8 percent, while the number of hired workers has dropped from 12 million to 11.5 million persons or by 4.2 percent.

This has meant that, in contrast to the previous period, when there was both an absolute and relative broadening of the basis for the exploitation of hired labor in industry, after 1973, only a relative expansion of it could be carried out. This qualitative shift had a profound impact on the status of the working class.

The reduced number of employed persons resulted in the growth of unemployment, a deterioration in the conditions for hiring the labor force and a change in working conditions for employees in industry.

According to official data, the total number of unemployed in Japan increased from 590,000 persons in 1970 to 1.3 million persons in 1982 and the unemployment level rose, respectively, from 1.1 percent to 2.3 percent. Due to the absence in the Japanese statistics of data on the sectorial composition of the unemployed, the scale of unemployment among industrial workers can be assessed only indirectly. For this purpose we have used data on the number of authorizations issued in the manufacturing industry for receiving unemployment assistance. In the second half of the 1970's this averaged 600,000 a year. Considering the fact that the unemployment insurance system covers not more than two-thirds of the employees (since it extends only to permanent workers and unemployment assistance is paid only to those who have been ensured at least 6 months by the moment of losing their job), it can be assumed that the unemployment level in industry during this period was around 800,000 persons. Here it is essential to bear in mind that the negative effect of unemployment on the status of the working class is not only in the direct deterioration of its material situation (unemployment assistance is from 60 to 80 percent of wages) and is paid for just 3-10 months (depending upon the length of employment), but also that enormous masses of people forced not to work often lose their skills and working habits.

The basic responsibility for the growth of unemployment among industrial workers rests on the monopolies. According to the estimates of the Japanese economist Kudo Akira, out of the total number of persons fired in the period of 1974-1979 and comprising 940,000 persons, some 920,000, or 98 percent, came from enterprises with 500 employees or more and considered in the category of large and very large. Here the scale of dismissals was so great that it led to

a definite shaking of the traditional system of "lifetime employment," the essence of which is the assigning of workers to an enterprise and their guaranteed employment until retirement.

Along with mass dismissals, the industrial enterprises have cut back sharply on the amount of new manpower hiring and as a result of this there has been a substantial decline in the coefficient for the effective supply of labor. This is the ratio between the number of vacancies and the number of persons wishing to work. While at the beginning of the 1970's, this ratio was over two, in the second half of the 1970's it was around 0.7, in other words, while at the beginning of the decade the number of vacancies was approximately double the number of those desiring to work, in the second half only three out of four applicants could find jobs. By mid-1982, this coefficient had dropped to 0.58, that is, at present only one out of two persons desiring to work in the manufacturing industry can actually find a job there. The older age workers have been particularly hard-pressed. As a whole for the category of workers over the age of 45, only one out of five can count on finding work and for the category over 55, only one out of ten.

Thus, in the second half of the 1970's, the situation on the labor market has deteriorated sharply. There has been a move from a manpower shortage to a surplus apparent in the mass dismissals in industry, the growth of unemployment, and the significant excess of the number of persons wanting to work over the number of vacant jobs.

These changes have not been long in telling on the status of the industrial workers and primarily on the movement of wages. Up to the energy crisis of 1973-1974, under the conditions of the rapid growth of industrial production and a high demand for manpower, wages of the industrial workers in real terms showed rather high and steady growth rates. Thus, over the period 1965-1973, they doubled with an average annual growth rate of 9.2 percent.

After the energy crisis of 1973-1974, the situation changed sharply. From 1974 through 1978, the real wages of industrial workers rose by only 9.2 percent, and twice over these 8 years, in 1975 and in 1980, there was an absolute decline (respectively, by 0.3 percent in 1975 and by 0.9 percent in 1980).

Obviously, such an abrupt slow-down in the growth rate of real wages and even their absolute decline in individual years have been possible precisely as a result of the changes on the labor market. Here it is essential to bear in mind that this has occurred against a background of maintaining rather high growth rates for labor productivity. As a whole for the manufacturing industry, the ratio between the growth rate of labor productivity and the growth rate of real wages has changed in the following manner (see Table 1).

Obviously, in contrast to the beginning of the 1970's, the second half of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's has been characterized by a constant excess of the growth rate of labor productivity over the growth rate of real wages. This has had a direct effect on the proportions for the distribution of the national income created in industry.

Table 1

	A	B	A-B
1970	9,1	6,8	2,3
1971	7,6	3,8	3,9
1972	10,6	8,6	2,0
1973	10,4	12,2	-1,8
1974	1,4	-5,1	6,6
1975	-0,3	-1,5	-1,8
1976	2,7	12,4	-9,7
1977	0,5	0,6	-0,1
1978	2,0	8,2	-6,2
1979	3,7	8,4	-4,3
1980	-0,9	10,0	-10,9
1981	1,2	3,2	-2,0

Key: A--Growth rate of real wages (%)
 B--Growth rate of labor productivity (%)

According to the data of the official statistics, in the 1970's, the distribution proportions of national income in industry changed in the following manner (see Table 2).

Table 2

**Distribution of National Income
 in the Manufacturing Industry**

	nat'l. income created in industry		employee income		entrepreneur income	
	bln. ¥	%	bln. ¥	%	bln. ¥	%
1970	20587,0	100,0	10438,6	60,7	10146,4	49,3
1971	21765,3	100,0	12074,6	55,4	9710,7	44,6
1972	24272,2	100,0	13867,8	57,1	14404,4	42,9
1973	30694,5	100,0	17547,1	57,1	13147,4	42,9
1974	35807,0	100,0	22035,3	61,5	13771,7	38,5
1975	34516,7	100,0	23827,4	69,0	10689,3	31,0
1976	40225,4	100,0	26327,4	65,4	13898,0	34,6
1977	43293,4	100,0	28929,4	66,8	14364,0	33,2
1978	47591,3	100,0	30495,9	64,1	17093,3	35,9
1979	50587,3	100,0	32864,0	65,0	17723,1	35,0
1980	55320,7	100,0	35809,4	64,7	19511,4	35,3

It must be pointed out that the data provided substantially distort the actual relationship between the income of the entrepreneurs and the income of hired labor.

In the first place, the income of entrepreneurs takes into account the amount of realized surplus value and not the actually produced; at the same time under the conditions of the unsteady market conditions in the 1970's, the differences between these can be very substantial.

Secondly, if one considers the widespread practice of sheltering profit from taxes, obviously the actual amounts of entrepreneur profits would be significantly greater than those considered by official statistics.

Thirdly, since the given data reflect the dynamics of national income in current prices, they substantially distort the proportions of its distribution, since the deflators for the income of hired persons (with this income being spent basically for purchasing consumer goods) and the income of entrepreneurs (from which expenditures are also made for production goods) differ substantially. Thus, during the 1970-1979 period, prices for consumer goods rose by 2.19-fold while prices for raw products and materials rose by 1.93-fold and for investment goods by 1.5-fold. This shows that the income of hired workers has depreciated more than the income of the entrepreneurs.

Fourthly and finally, it is known that bourgeois statistics also includes manager income in the income of hired workers, thereby inflating the total amount. However, even with these distortions, it is apparent that in the second half of the 1970's, the share of the industrial proletariat in the national income created in industry showed a tendency to decline. This can be viewed as proof of the growing exploitation of hired labor in Japanese industry.

As was already pointed out, in the second half of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, Japanese industry succeeded in maintaining rather high growth rates of labor productivity. Although this growth occurred under the impact of various factors, including such ones as an increased load factor for production capacity, the introduction of more productive equipment and so forth, an important role among them was also played by the measures to "rationalize" the use of manpower. Thus, according to the results of a polling of the largest industrial companies, the second most important (after the introduction of more productive equipment) measure to increase labor productivity was the setting up of work groups concerned with studying specific operations in the aim of reducing the time required to perform them and improving the work methods. Obviously such "rationalization," in essence, means an intensification and, consequently, a deterioration of working conditions in industry.

The further intensification of labor for industrial workers can also be seen from the fact that in the second half of the 1970's, the growth of the level of surplus value per employee outstripped the growth of the capital-to-labor ratio. Over the period from 1975 through 1980, these indicators rose, respectively, by 1.64- and 1.34-fold.

The reorganization of industrial production has also given rise to a whole series of other problems. Thus, protectionist measures for a number of scientific-intensive types of production comprising a group of new strategic sectors as well as the restructuring itself aimed at increasing the competitiveness of Japanese products on foreign markets have seriously aggravated the already extremely acute commercial and economic contradictions of Japan with the other capitalist nations. On the other hand, the material and energy intensiveness of Japanese industry as well as to lower the environmental pollution level by scrapping the capacity of corresponding production in Japan and the shifting of enterprises overseas have been accompanied by the complicating of Japan's relations with those developing countries where this move has been made.

The processes occurring since the 1973-1974 energy crisis in the reorganization of Japanese industry are ultimately aimed at strengthening the positions

of Japanese capitalism both within the nation and on the international scene. However, as the experience of the second half of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's has shown, the attempts to resolve the accumulating problems by these methods are fraught with the rise of new complications and the exacerbation of both domestic and foreign contradictions for Japanese capitalism.

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INTERNATIONAL

CHINESE REVOLUTIONARIES' VIEWS ON MARXISM, RUSSIAN REVOLUTION SURVEYED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 pp 9-12

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Delyusin: "Great October and the Chinese Revolution"]

[Text] The victory of the October Revolution in Russia met a warm response in China. The outstanding revolutionary democrat Sun Yatsen welcomed it as "the great hope of all mankind." The news of the victory of October was also jubilantly received by those Chinese intellectuals who were heading the struggle for a new culture and for introducing the ideals of science and democracy into society's awareness. One of the leaders of this struggle, Li Dazhao, viewed the October Revolution as the start of a mass movement which would engulf the entire world. "The historical vestiges such as emperors, aristocrats, the military, bureaucracy, militarism and capitalism--everything impeding the advance of the new will be wiped away by a worldwide mass movement of titanic strength. None of them will stand up to this invincible wave and they will fall one by one, just like yellowed, dried leaves fall when touched by the cold autumn winds."¹

For the progressive Chinese intelligentsia which dreamed of national rebirth and a social renewal of the country, the October Revolution opened up new prospects for solving many problems which prevented China from setting out on the path of progress.

China at that time was a ragged state where foreign capitalists held sway and the militarists and officials plundered and oppressed the people. The disunity, political dependence and economic backwardness of the nation were hard to endure for the Chinese patriots.

Sun Yatsen who has already tested out various methods of embodying his plans for reorganizing society and its development on the basis of the three "people's principles" (nationalism, democracy and prosperity), began to study the experience of the October Revolution closely and the ideas of it, in his

¹ Li Dazhao, "Izbrannyye stat'i i rechi" [Selected Articles and Speeches], Moscow, 1965, p 80.

opinion, coincided with these three principles. In studying the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks, Sun Yatsen gave particular attention to the organization, discipline and militancy of their party and its ability to understand the aspirations and psychology of the working people and to win their hearts due to the fact that "a majority of the leaders in the Russian revolutionary party possesses extensive knowledge and has elevated ideals."² In becoming familiar with the actual practices of the October Revolution, Sun Yatsen realized the necessity, in the struggle for the unification and rebirth of the nation, of relying not merely on military force but on an army where the commanders and soldiers were consciously subordinate to the interests of the revolutionary party and were ready to give up their lives for carrying out its goals and ideals.

Under the influence of October and with the aid of the Comintern and Soviet Russia, Sun Yatsen reorganized the Komindang and began to collaborate with the young Communist Party of China [CCP]. He radically revised his revolutionary-democratic program, giving it a clearer anti-imperialist, antifeudal character. In studying the actual experience of the Russian Bolsheviks and welcoming their political and military material aid with alacrity and gratitude, Sun Yatsen, although considering himself a supporter of socialism and an opponent of capitalism and paying proper respect to the accomplishments of Marx and Lenin, did not, however, come over to Marxist positions and did not view these teachings as the key to solving the national and social problems of China.

His approach to Marxism differed fundamentally from the positions of such Chinese revolutionary-democrats as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and the progressive intellectuals who were grouped around the journal XINQINGNIAN published by them as well as the radical students. Some of them immediately and others after some reflection turned sharply toward Marxism, taking to a serious study of scientific socialism.

In the major cities of China, societies and circles began forming to study Marxism and in these Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu and other supporters of socialism carried out great educational work. In the universities debates were organized on socialism and the possibility of applying it under the conditions of Chinese reality, articles appeared on socialism and Marxism, materials on Soviet Russia, on the communist parties and worker movement in Europe and the United States.

The representatives of the Comintern including J. Voitinskiy and others provided practical aid to the Chinese supporters of Marxism in pooling their efforts. This was expressed in the founding of the CCP in July 1921. The advice and recommendations of V. I. Lenin who carefully followed the revolutionary events in China helped the young Chinese communists become aware of their complex and difficult tasks under the conditions of the semicolonial and semi-feudal country. Precisely V. I. Lenin drew the attention of the Chinese revolutionaries, both the communists and the Komindang, to the importance of an anti-imperialist struggle, having emphasized the importance of involving the peasant masses in this.

² Sun Yatsen, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Moscow, 1964, p 366.

Chen Duxiu and Li Dazhao had to wage an acute political struggle both against the adherents of a capitalist path of development as well as against the anarchists who hostilely interpreted the events in revolutionary Russia. The former who were in favor of bourgeois methods for the nation's economic development rejected socialism, referring to the backwardness of China, the absence of a working class and the illiteracy of the population. The anarchists, demanding the establishment of "absolute freedom," the abolishing of laws and the elimination of any authority, spread slanderous fabrications about Soviet power. Li Dazhao, considering the question of whether or not economic conditions had matured in China for socialism to be a question of primary importance, analyzed it from the viewpoint of the world economic prerequisites. In agreeing that China lacked a developed capitalist industry and that the contradictions between labor and capital had still not become a serious problem, he firmly stated: "In order to survive and keep pace with life, a maximum of energy must be devoted and all efforts united to create a social community. It is impossible to develop a modern Chinese economy if the direct producers of material goods do not organize the government so as to eliminate the exploiting classes in our country, to fight against world capitalism and organize a socialist economy."³

Chen Duxiu, a professor at Beijing University, became an active propagandist of socialist ideas. In the course of the movement for a new culture, Chen Duxiu came out decisively as a supporter of radical changes, as an opponent of conservative ideas the representatives of which, in claiming the role of the protectors of the "national spirit," were in favor of perpetuating the old orders and systems and asserted that China could survive in the troubled modern world only in the instance that its uniqueness would not be disturbed. In arguing against them, Chen Duxiu wrote: "We truly do not know which of our traditional institutions can be left in order to permit us to survive under the conditions of the modern world. I would rather agree to the destruction of our 'national essence' than to the complete disappearance of our nation because of our inability to adapt. There are no inhabitants of Babylon and what is the meaning of their civilization for us today? As the Chinese saying goes, if there was no skull, then where would the hair attack?"

Prior to the October Revolution, Chen Duxiu preached the ideas of bourgeois humanism and democracy and emphasized the great role of science in transforming society, calling for moral self-improvement. He asserted that if all people would be raised in a spirit of a philosophy of universal love and would observe the six virtues (industriousness, thriftiness, honesty, cleanliness, sincerity and faithfulness), then things in the world would change for the better and mankind would gain happiness and good fortune. As for the question of revolution, Chen Duxiu recognized its necessity for accelerating social progress, but here he emphasized that it could only be carried out by highly moral, ideally pure people, otherwise the revolution would turn into troubled times, it would cause chaos and this would lead to the perishing of mankind. He viewed workers and peasants as an object of sympathy and compassion but did

³ Li Dazhao, op. cit., p 172.

not see in them an active force capable of participating in the reorganization of society.

After the October Revolution which he viewed as a key event in world history, Chen Duxiu spared no effort to propagandize Marxism and the experience of the October Revolution, having played an important role in the dissemination of socialist teachings in his country and in preparing the ideological conditions for founding the CCP. Chen Duxiu, like Li Dazhao, did not limit his activities to the publishing of articles. In giving lectures to students and workers, he explained the essence of capitalist exploitation and those negative consequences for society which are the inevitable result of a system of private property. In an accessible manner he set out the basic Marxist tenets. Chen Duxiu devoted a great deal of time to unmasking various anarchistic theories.

Serious ideological clashes broke out between the Marxists and the anarchists over the question of the methods of the revolution. Certain Chinese anarchists came out against conducting a class struggle and against political revolution, feeling that mankind by itself would come to communism by the dissemination of scientific truths and humanistic ideals. Others, on the contrary, in coming out against science and against the revolution, called for an immediate uprising, the refusal to pay taxes, for strikes and terror, as a result of which, in their opinion, complete freedom would come about.

The representatives of one anarchistic current attacked Soviet Russia, accusing the Bolsheviks of establishing the "power of the upper bourgeoisie," while others praised it as supposedly the embodiment of the ideals of anarcho-communism.

The propaganda activities of the anarchists created confusion in the minds of Chinese society and impeded a correct perception of the ideas of October. The supporters of Marxism had to wage an unflagging struggle against them. However, the first Chinese Marxists initially did not draw a clear political line between themselves and their opponents. Debates and arguments were of a theoretical nature and did not prevent joint work in progressive journals and newspapers of a general democratic trend. A political demarcation occurred only after Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao and others began to organize Marxist circles and bring them together into the Communist Party as well as undertake revolutionary propaganda in the proletarian classes of Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and other industrial centers of the country. Here the paths of the liberal democrats and the communists diverged sharply and the theoretical polemics grew into a political struggle.

There were also contradictions among the members of the Marxist circles. Some of them felt that precisely the weak development of capitalism promised an easy transition to socialism. "Even if the economic prerequisites and production conditions for a revolution have not matured," wrote Cai Hesen, one of the first Chinese communists, "after the revolution there follows death by hunger from the stifling ring of the blockade but it forces the masses to see clearly and it is better to have an honorable death, a death in war or from hunger for the sake of the revolution than a death from mutual carnage, from disorders and from hunger.... A social revolution is judged from objective facts and not from subjective ideals, the prerequisites for it are determined by the degree

of exploitation and the suppression of the proletariat's economic life, by the degree of class awareness and not by the degree of knowledge and morality." In his opinion, a revolutionary explosion was inevitable, for the patience of the people had been exhausted and the sufferings of the proletariat had reached an intolerable degree.

Others followed more realistic positions arguing that precisely due to the nation's backwardness, the reorganization of society along socialist lines would be an unusually difficult matter and the communists should be prepared for an extended and stubborn struggle. They pointed out that the proletarians and the soldiers should be the main force in a future socialist revolution and the students could raise them to revolution. The creation of a strong alliance of the proletariat, the soldiers and students and their united purposeful activities would help carry out a revolution, to seize power initially in one place and then throughout the nation. The journal GONGCHANDANG ("The Communist") appealed to the Chinese students to found an organization for conducting oral propaganda of the ideals of socialism among workers and soldiers.

In emphasizing the necessity of involving the soldiers in revolutionary activities, the journal wrote that, relying solely on their own forces, the Chinese workers, even if they announced a nationwide strike, would be unable to substantially influence the nation's political life due to its economic underdevelopment. "Only by providing itself with the support of the army," pointed out GONGCHANDANG, "is it possible, having commenced a general strike, to successfully carry out a social revolution." In an appeal to the workers, soldiers and peasants, published in one of the issues, the Chinese communists called for the creation of a broad union of the nation's suppressed masses. "If you want to free yourselves from the present joyless life, if you want to fight for your rights," said the appeal, "then a revolution is indispensable. In urging you to a revolution, I do not demand that you drop bombs or fire a pistol. This old-type revolution is no longer fitting. A revolution means the necessity of uniting in the aim of unanimously rebuffing your enemy." The appeal emphasized the importance of spreading socialist ideas in the people. Here the author pointed out: "Among you are very few literate persons. The person who knows how to read should agitate the others. And when everyone understands, then it is essential to join with the workers and peasants of the entire world." In conclusion the author of the "Appeal" urged "studying the experience of the northern neighbors--the Russian workers and peasants--our brothers."⁴

In agitating for socialism as an ideal which all the disenfranchised working masses should strive to achieve, the Chinese Marxists drew attention also to the necessity of developing a struggle for the country's national unity and for halting the internecine wars. In an editorial statement published in the first issue of the weekly XIAODAO, the organ of the CCP, it was pointed out that due to the troubled times the students cannot learn, the market for industry is reduced, the merchants cannot trade peacefully, the workers and peasants suffer

⁴ See GONGCHANDANG, No 4, p 9.

from inflation and unemployment and the soldiers senselessly sacrifice their lives. For this reason, peace is essential. XIAODAO proposed the following four slogans as primary ones: unity, peace, freedom and independence.

The study and mastery of the principles of Marxism and the first steps in organizing the workers and involving them in the revolutionary struggle were combined by the Chinese communists with attempts to understand and analyze, using Marxist methodology, the class nature of Chinese society, the particular features of the status of the various strata and classes and the essence of national and class contradictions. This task was very complex. It was easier to believe in the strength of Marxism, in the correctness of the revolutionary path proposed by it for transforming a backward society into a progressive socialist one than it was to objectively understand and assess the national features of China, to study concretely the social conditions in the life of the working classes and the particular features of the national and petty bourgeoisie and to gain a correct understanding of the level of the class awareness of the workers and peasants a predominant majority of whom was illiterate.

This was hindered not only by the absence of concrete sociological research and accurate statistical data but also by the traditional views and prejudices the overcoming of which was essential for providing a scientific analysis of the socioclass structure in Chinese society.

The Chinese democrats and liberals who were in favor of the reorganization and renewal of China but denied that Marxism was applicable for this refused to recognize the division of Chinese society into classes. In stating that there were rich and poor in China, they did not see the socioeconomic causes behind the property inequality and explained the poverty of some and the wealth of others by the vagaries of life, by fortuitous circumstances, illness and disasters. In their opinion, China did not and could not have a class struggle since exploiting and exploited classes had not yet appeared.

Sun Yatsen, in claiming the role of the expresser of the entire nation's interests, did not pay attention to a socioclass analysis of Chinese society. He was more interested in the balance of forces on the Chinese political scene, that is, who at a given specific moment was his opponent and who was an ally or a neutral figure, what was the balance of military forces and who could be employed in the struggle against the chief enemy. Sun Yatsen was accustomed to thinking not in class categories, but rather specific political ones. He never concealed that he did not accept the theory of K. Marx on classes and he did not agree with the Marxist tenet that the history of mankind is the history of class struggle which is the main driving force in social development. Sun Yatsen was convinced that in a national revolution all strata of the population should join forces for "common salvation requires general efforts and mutual aid." He assumed that the development of society depends not upon class struggle but rather on the reconciliation of classes, their collaboration, mutual aid between people and that this would make it possible for mankind to achieve ultimately a Society of Great Unity.

He divided society into the dictatorial class and the class of simple people. Sun Yatsen considered the main criterion for classifying a person in one or another category to be the political position held by that person, confusing

"class" with "rank" or "title" and ignoring the economic situation and relationship of the individual to the means of production. Without rising to an understanding of the essence of classes, he, for example, classified a soldier in the "weapons-possessing class," the intelligentsia was in the "knowledge-possessing class," the well-off persons were in the "economic class" or "rich class," while political leaders were in the "political class." In some instances he established two classes of "rich" and "poor" in society and in

others adhered to the traditional Chinese division into four estates--scholars, peasants, tradesmen (workers) and merchants. Such views led him to the conclusion that a class struggle does not occur in society but rather there is a struggle between people for possession of food, for the possibility of existence and for power. He divided conflicts in the modern world into three types: a war between nations, a trade war and a class war. The last, in his opinion, occurred between the capitalists and the workers in the developed states but the possibility of its outbreak in the colonial and semicolonial countries was rejected by him. In his words, the Chinese bourgeoisie, in being weak, was unable to suppress and exploit the workers the position of which was better than the position of the domestic capitalists, since the latter suffered from foreign competition and this was not understood by the workers in voicing their demands. In admitting that the Chinese peasantry suffered from the suppression of the landlords, he called for the resolution of the contradictions between them solely by peaceful means.

The Chinese communists, in using the Marxist methodology, even in their first works analyzed the socioeconomic relations in the country with great profundity and objectivity. They attempted a concrete study of the working and living conditions of the workers and the peasants. In the article "Land and the Peasantry," Li Dazhao pointed to the lack of resolution of the agrarian question and that the peasantry was one of the important driving forces in the revolution and to the necessity of organizing the world poor into peasant unions. We find this same idea in an article by Chen Duxiu entitled "The Peasant Question in China."⁵

The article by Chen Duxiu, "The National Revolution in China and the Different Classes of Chinese Society"⁶ was also a serious attempt to apply the Marxist method in analyzing China's class structure. In this, the article pointed to the particular features of the bourgeois revolution in China as a national democratic one occurring under the conditions of a semicolonial, semifeudal nation and for this reason unable to be a "purely bourgeois democratic revolution." Chen Duxiu defined Chinese society as an agrarian one, industrially underdeveloped, with a backward culture. In this society all classes were closely interlinked by kinship patriarchal relations. The Chinese bourgeoisie, in his words, was in a juvenile state and proof of this was the absence of a political party in the nation which would represent its interests. The weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie also explained its conduct towards its opponents

⁵ QIANFENG, No 1, 1923.

⁶ Ibid., No 2, 1923.

--the imperialist powers and the militarists--being inclined to resolve its contradictions with them by peaceful means. The author drew the correct conclusion that the economic interests of the commercial-industrial bourgeoisie would inevitably lead it to an understanding of the necessity of political revolution and to a transition from the employment of peaceful methods of struggle to revolutionary ones. Chen Duxiu put the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in a separate class as this was dependent on the foreign forces and linked to the militaristic governments. He characterized this group as counterrevolutionary and capable of national betrayal. He explained the important role of the Chinese bourgeoisie in the coming national revolution by the fact that its forces were more concentrated than the peasant forces and surpassed the forces of the proletariat.

In speaking about the attitude of the Chinese petty bourgeoisie to the revolution, Chen Duxiu pointed to its inclination to romanticism. This was apparent in the words and deeds of the petty bourgeoisie intelligentsia which, without being an independent class, fluctuated between different classes.

Chen Duxiu considered the bourgeoisie, the workers and the peasants to be the main driving forces in a national revolution and the role of a connecting link between these should be played by the revolutionary representatives of the intelligentsia capable of maintaining an alliance with the proletariat when the latter would carry out its own revolution. Here Chen Duxiu constantly pricked the illusions of the romantically inclined intellectuals about creating a "purely peasant state" and the superiority of Eastern culture and he criticized the anarchistic views and hopes of "saving the motherland by the spread of Christianity" or "by education."

Chen Duxiu characterized the peasantry as a "great force in the national revolution." "Without the participation of the peasantry in the Chinese national revolution, it can never be a successful people's revolution," he emphasized. Chen Duxiu realized that the peasantry was unable to immediately assimilate and adopt the ideas of a communist, socialist revolution, but this revolution would inevitably encounter sympathy and support from the peasantry under the condition that a strong proletariat became its main detachment. In his articles and speeches, Chen Duxiu defined the proletariat as a class possessing great force which, due to its living conditions and psychology, was easily drawn into a decisive struggle and would become the attack vanguard of the revolution. In emphasizing the important role of the Chinese working class in the national revolution, Chen Duxiu at the same time cautioned that it is not an independent revolutionary force, being weak both quantitatively and qualitatively. Among workers it was possible to encounter those who were not interested in politics and who maintained monarchistic views. Only a small portion of the workers was capable of rising to an awareness of national political tasks. Of this category of workers only an insignificant portion possessed a class awareness and was capable of an organized struggle in the ranks of a party representing the entire class.

Chen Duxiu put all his hopes on the future proletarian revolution, precisely on this portion of the Chinese proletariat which showed the greatest boldness in the national revolution.

The class analysis made by Chen Duxiu and his assessment of the revolutionary potential of the various classes in Chinese society pursued a goal of understanding, on the one hand, the balance of class forces and the nature of the relationships between the classes in the developing national revolution and, on the other, of theoretically establishing and reinforcing the necessity and revolutionary advisability of establishing collaboration between the CCP and the Komindang. The Comintern leadership had insisted on this, seeing in this a guarantee for the successful development of a national democratic revolution.

Under the influence of the ideals of October, Sun Yatsen was unable to overcome his hesitations and not only make an alliance with Soviet Russia but also to collaborate with the young Communist Party. This helped get the Chinese revolution off dead center and bring about a rise in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle which ultimately led to the victory of the people's revolution under the leadership of the communists and to the formation of the Chinese People's Republic. The responsibility for attaining this great victory goes back to those few Chinese Marxists for whom Great October opened their eyes to the great force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and drew them into the path of the revolutionary struggle.

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INTERNATIONAL

PARTICIPATION OF WEST EUROPEAN LABOR UNIONS IN PEACE MOVEMENT NOTED

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 13 Feb 84 pp 1-2

[TASS item: "International Trade Union Movement in the Struggle for Peace"]

[Text] Moscow, January 13 (TASS)--The growing anti-war sentiments have served as a stimulus for a change in the stance of the leaders of several West European union centres, the newspaper TRUD writes today. It was only comparatively recently, the Soviet trade union paper goes on, that quite a few union leaders in the West declared their main task to be the defence of the working people's socio-economic interests. They used to say that politicians, diplomats and military experts should be left to deal with the maintenance of peace and the curbing of the arms race. Such an approach is growing obsolete nowadays. A vivid example is provided by the evolution of the position of the Belgian General Confederation of Labour (BGCL).

BGCL Chairman Andre Van den Broucke has told TRUD that they saw the curbing of the arms race as their most urgent task. Many things, like the working people's well-being and their very life, hinged on the solution of that problem. Europe did not need new missiles, he went on. There were more than enough weapons. We want new jobs and new investment in industry, he said. We want Europe to be non-nuclear, and will do all we can to transform it from a scene of confrontation into a continent of co-operation.

The upsurge of the anti-war movement, TRUD writes further, has also exerted its influence on the three international trade union centres located in Brussels. Last autumn the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC), and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) published statements describing their approach on disarmament. These boil down to the following. New weapons undermine security, never consolidating it. Swallowing up huge resources, the arms race hinders economic development, and is among the main causes of hunger, illiteracy and many other evils. The military build-up should be ended before it does away with mankind. The first step along this road could be renunciation of the deployment of new nuclear armaments in Europe, and the reduction of the weapons already stockpiled there. The above trade union centres, the Soviet newspaper says, support the idea of the establishment of nuclear-free zones, and reject plans for "limited" nuclear warfare as a "fatal illusion."

CSO: 1812/87

INTERNATIONAL

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES LETTER TO LEADERSHIP BACKS SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

LD232335 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1546 GMT 23 Dec 83

[Text] Moscow, 23 Dec (TASS)--Soviet scientists wholly and fully support the peace-loving foreign policy of the CPSU and Soviet state. They fully recognize their responsibility to mankind in connection with the worsening international atmosphere caused by imperialism. They resolutely protest against the deployment of new U.S. missiles which has begun in Western Europe. This is said in a letter addressed to the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to the USSR Council of Ministers, adopted at a general meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences which ended in Moscow today. It was devoted to the implementation of the decisions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and Council of Ministers decision "On measures to accelerate scientific-technological progress in the national economy."

Speaking at the closing session, academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted the considerable successes of scientists in the chief directions of fundamental research--mathematics, astronomy, astrophysics and space research, the physics of elementary particles, and other branches of natural sciences. In certain fields, Soviet scientists have taken the leading position in the world, he said.

Academician Velikhov reported on materials made in recent years with unique properties for various applications in industry, technology and sciences, such as large crystals, super-hard materials, and powerful permanent magnets. "The section's achievements in the sphere of fiber optics place the problem of cable television on a real footing," he stated.

Jointly with industry, methods have been devised to use powerful lasers for cutting, hardening and welding metal components. The scientists noted that lasers are finding broad application in medicine, metallurgy and measuring technology.

"Research in the sphere of MHD generators is finding important applications both in power engineering and in geophysical work," the academician reported.

In Velikhov's opinion, work to make an efficient catalyst for removal of sulphur from oil is of great significance for improvement of the methods of extraction and processing of mineral fuels and extraction of sulphur as a by-product, as is work on methods for pumping hot agents into deep wells to increase output of oil from strata, and for processing coal to make fuel.

INTERNATIONAL

KIRGHIZ SCHOLAR DENIES INCOMPATIBILITY OF RUSSIANS, SOVIET MUSLIMS

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 27 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by V. Kiyutin, candidate of historical sciences, senior scientific associate of the Institute of Philosophy and Law, Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences: "A Dormant Common Sense" under the rubric "On the Fronts of Ideological Struggle"]

✓ [Text] History has more than once sardonically laughed at those who tried to instigate nationalist passions in the USSR and derive political capital from it. But of what use are its lessons to those who sold their soul and pen to numb-skulls who hate socialism pathologically! On their order, anti-Soviet publications, including newspapers and periodicals designed for the general public, publish dozens of prejudiced arguments, comments and forecasts by experts on the nationality problem in the USSR, and sometimes by people who are far removed from professional anti-Sovietism but still have tasted of its unforbidden--in the West--fruit. How much energy are they devoting to, for example, illuminating the so-called "Moslem" question in the Soviet Union, "analyzing" in detail the state of relations among nationalities in the Soviet Central Asian republics.

In an issue of the West German periodical 'NATION EUROPA' A. Furman, the author of the article "The Soviet Multi-National State," writes quite unrestrainedly that "...the opposition of Muslims toward the Russians is a new problem to the Kremlin and may even be opening a new chapter in world history." The West German journal 'DER SPIEGEL' shoots critical arrows at the Russians living in the Central Asian region who supposedly "share Katkov's views*" because they [of course! V.K.] feel at home in Central Asia."

The same tone concerning nationality relations in Central Asia is taken by the London periodicals 'MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL' and 'THE NEW STATESMAN.' The French Sovietologists A. Benningsen and M. Brokso [transliterated] even wrote an entire book this year on the subject instead of periodical articles. Consider just the meaning of its title alone: "The Islamic Threat to the Soviet

*A Russian nineteenth-century publicist, editor of the newspaper 'MOSKOVSKIYE VEDOMOSTI,' and defender of tsarism's colonial ventures in Turkestan.

State." You learn surprising things from that book. For example, you learn that the socialist state has "even so, to this day, failed to develop a common 'Soviet' historical tradition of Russians and Muslims."

✓ The aphorism of G. K. Lichtenberg, a German seventeenth-century educator and writer, "All this was hatched while scholasticism was awake and common sense asleep," appears strikingly to the attitude of the Sovietologists toward the tenets they expound in their works.

According to Benningson and Broks, it turns out that Soviet people of different nationalities lack a common historical destiny. This is rather strange, but the Sovietologists "surveyed" the entire Soviet period of the history of our socialist state and the heroic deeds committed by several generations of the Soviet multi-national people. Even a person lacking the solid scientific leavening of Benningson, a professor at the University of Paris, and of Broks, the editor of the periodical 'CENTRAL EYSHEN [Transliterated] NEWS-LETTER,' is aware that the Russians and the native peoples of Central Asia had established the worker-rule shoulder to shoulder, laid jointly the foundations of the new socialist civilization.

And how can the era of the Great Patriotic War be forgotten? Together with Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians and other peoples of the European USSR, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghizes, Tajiks, Turkmen, Uygurs and Karakalpaks took up the sacred struggle against German Fascism. For their heroism and bravery in battle, thousands upon thousands of them were decorated with high state awards, many receiving the honorific of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Beautiful common Soviet traditions permeate the present-day life of the peoples of our country. They are: the devotion to the deeds and ideas of the older generations of the Soviet people, honorable service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR; daily labor which has literally transformed the face of our Homeland. It is precisely therein that we behold the best confirmation of the triumph of the principles of Soviet internationalism, of the fraternal friendship of Soviet nations and nationalities.

One has to have the outstanding ability of the Sovietologists for imagining black to be white in order to write about nationality "conflicts" in the USSR and the "absence" of a Soviet historical tradition.

'DER SPIEGEL' accuses in vain the Russian inhabitants of the Central Asian republics of having a spiritual affinity with Katkov. That editor of deplorable memory had glorified the chauvinist policy of the tsarist government in Turkestan. This is not denied by the author himself of the article in 'DER SPIEGEL.' But at the same time, what about the widely known internationalist mission of the representatives of the Russian nation who devoted their enthusiasm, unencompassable energies as pioneers of socialist construction to the noble task of elevating the former colonial borderlands of the Russian Empire to the development level of the country's central regions?

Consider just one example from the history of our republic. During the first 5-year plan 8,000 workers came to Kirghiziya from Moscow, Leningrad and other industrial centers. In addition, hundreds of engineers, technicians and

cultural activists arrived to promote the republic's economic and cultural growth.

Is not 'DER SPIEGEL' shocked by the fact that Russians do not at all feel themselves to be "newcomers" or "aliens" here? Let us say this without false humility: Central Asia is indeed a native land to Russians, Ukrainians, Germans and Balkariys, because to all Soviet people the concept 'Homeland' is associated with the country's entire territory. The purpose of the arguments of bourgeois ideologues about "newcomers" and "aliens" is precisely to root out among Soviet citizens the great feeling of belonging to the united socialist Homeland, to oppose the nations of Central Asia to each other.

As proof of the mutual "hostility" between the Russian and Turkic nations in our country, Benningsen and Broks provide an elaborate description of the relations between the Russian state and the Moslem world in the mid-century [1850s] and at present, inclusive of its relations with Khazars, Polovtsy, Tataro-Mongols, etc. On pointing in many cases to conflicts in these relations, these Sovietologists declare without the least doubt that the present day relations nationality relations in the USSR are traceable to relations in the previous centuries.

Benningsen does not refrain from stooping to repeat dirty gossip supposedly heard at a bazaar. Yes, when no clear proof is available, because it does not exist, rumors are quoted. The "scientific" method, what can you say!?

But if life is taken as it really is, the impression produced is totally different. Where else than in the USSR is there such a high level of moral-political unity of dozens of nations and nationalities been reached? But Furman prattles some drivel about the "mutual incompatibility" of the Soviet peoples. He "discovers" a new stratum of universal history but, as it turns out, he does so more than 60 years late, and in a monstrously distorted form at that.

And indeed, a new impressive chapter of universal and Soviet history has been written by the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution, the establishment in 1922 of the USSR and the unexampled cooperation of the large and small peoples of our country. For several decades now the USSR has been providing to the world an example of how to solve the highly intricate nationality problem, having secured broad progress and flowering for once backward nationalities. It is noteworthy that this is increasingly often acknowledged in the West. The London 'THE ECONOMIST' commented in one of its issues that the history of Soviet Central Asia is a "history of accomplishments of the Soviet state." This idea also is favored by M. B. Alcott, an associate of Colgate University.

Most Sovietologists, however, are freighted with the burden of prejudices and biases as regards the present-day development of the Central Asian republics. In this connection, they still generously offer recommendations and advice all around to the region's native inhabitants. Benningsen believes that the best solution of the problem of mutual relations between the Russian and Turkic peoples of the USSR, "before it is too late," is to allow them to secede from the Soviet state, which would reduce the territory of the USSR to the size of the Muscovite tsardom under the rule of Vasiliy III, the father of Ivan the Terrible."

Stop! This is why thick anti-Soviet volumes are written, scientific conferences conducted and bourgeois ideologists extend a "helpful hand" to the Soviet peoples. The mighty Soviet multi-national state is to be broken up into "lots" and the close ties of fraternal friendship of the nations are to be severed--such is the subtext of the "good wishes" of the anti-communists. Need it be said that such a turn of events in the USSR would be optimally in the interest of the capitalist countries headed by the USA and would mean a return to "good old" times when they used to dictate their will to the entire remaining world.

S. Zweig once wrote: "The first sign of genuine political wisdom always is the ability to give up in advance what is not attainable. Unfortunately, this valuable quality is completely absent in our ideological adversaries and their spiritual father--monopoly bourgeoisie. Otherwise they would not surrender to illusions of destroying the USSR and breaking up the countries of the socialist community. However many there were and are of these malignant carpers of various caliber, overt and covert enemies of the USSR, not one of them, we stress, not one has ever succeeded or will ever succeed in witnessing the realization of his cannibalistic schemes because, as pointed out by Yu. V. Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "for the first time in history the multi-national composition of a country has turned from a source of its weakness into a source of its strength and burgeoning."

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INTERNATIONAL

CONTENTS OF ASIA AND AFRICA TODAY , NOVEMBER 1983

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 11, Nov 83 p 1

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INTERNATIONAL

BUSINESS WEEK CITED ON OPPOSITION TO REAGAN EXPORT CONTROLS

[Editorial Report] Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 52, 23-29 December 1983 publishes on pages 10-11 a reprint of an 800-word article from BUSINESS WEEK criticizing Reagan administration policies on U.S. exports to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. ZA RUBEZHOM identifies BUSINESS WEEK as "a weekly economic and political magazine, and the organ of U.S. business circles."

CSO: 1807/106

SATELLITE TO LINK RADIO, TV IN PDRY, SYRIA, KAMPUCHEA, NICARAGUA

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 October 1983 page 4 carries a 1,000-word article describing the Prague-based International Radio and TV Organization which relays radio and TV signals via "Intersputnik." The recent 12th session of the "Intersputnik" council in Tashkent announced that new radio and television stations lined by satellite are scheduled to be built in the next few years in South Yemen, Syria, Kampuchea, Nicaragua and other countries.

CSO: 1830/187

INTERNATIONAL

BRIEFS

FRENCH LABOR UNIONISTS IN UZBEKISTAN--(UZTAG)--A delegation of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has acquainted itself with the life of Uzbekistan. The delegation is in the USSR at the invitation of the AUCCTU. It is headed by Henri Krasucki, French Communist Party Politburo member and CGT general secretary. AUCCTU secretary I.I. Gladkiy is escorting the delegation. Henri Krasucki and other delegation members were received in the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and in the Uzbek SSR Trade Unions Council. [Excerpts] [Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 13 Dec 83 p 1]

CSO: 1807/106

NATIONAL

OREL OBKOM CHIEF ON NONCHERNOZEM DEVELOPMENT

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by F. Meshkov, first secretary of the CPSU Orel obkom: "Made Valuable by Repetition. The Horizons of the Nonchernozem"]

[Excerpts] Thoughts have turned once again to the accountability and election party meeting at the kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Kromskiy rayon. The interested and principled talk about the work of the committee and how the communists are fulfilling a vanguard role in production was heartening.

I have known this farm for a long time. I also know the sacred goal toward it is striving: not only to be the equal of the best kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the oblast but to overtake them. Today the yields from the fields and farm productiveness are quite high. Annual profit is reckoned in the hundreds of thousands of rubles. But the collective has set itself even higher targets. But the changes in the economy are not happening as quickly as might be desired. What is interfering, holding it back? At the meeting specific reasons were cited and they decided to improve matters on particular sections.

The communists at other farms are assessing their own successes just as carefully. The Food Program and the party and government decrees on the further development of and improved efficiency in agriculture in the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR oblige them to do this. In the coming years workers in the Orel area must double gross output of produce from the fields and livestock farms. In order to do this it is necessary to utilize all reserves. One major reserve is the experience of the best collectives. Those like the ones at the sovkhoz imeni A.S. Georgiyevskiy and the "Korotysh" sovkhoz in Livenskiy rayon and the "Vlast' truda" and "Put' k rassvetu" kolkhozes in Kromskiy rayon.

For two consecutive years the Orel area has successfully fulfilled plans for the sale of grain to the state. The livestock farms have achieved a marked increase in output. We plan to strengthen and develop the growth dynamics envisaged. And here there is much work to be done. Some party and economic workers do not fully appreciate the growing potential of the countryside and are not insuring its efficient use. There are substantial shortcomings in work to implement the program for transforming the RSFSR Nonchernozem zone, and it was recently noted at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo that this is typical of our oblast.

As it now considers the results of the economic year in the countryside and the results of the committees' activities, the obkom is paying special attention to the unresolved tasks. And there are many of them. Our oblast has not yet achieved a high return from funds invested in the development of agriculture. There are many things in livestock farming particularly. The status of this important agricultural sector was discussed at one of the obkom plenums and the paths of development outlined. First of all, at the local level they undertook to improve cattle breeding, the fodder base and specialization. More than 50 major poultry-raising complexes have been commissioned. Beef production has now been concentrated mainly at the interfarm enterprises. The advantage is obvious: fewer people are involved and output is cheaper. Capacities are increasing for hog fattening, mainly through the reconstruction of old premises and their mechanization. Some 70 percent of funds allocated for livestock farming are being earmarked for these purposes.

The party organs and the councils of the agrarian-industrial associations are involving all workers in the search for reserves. And first and foremost the specialists. On the initiative of CPSU member economist L. Sharakina at the "Mir" kolkhoz they were among the first to set up cost-accounting mechanized links and to master the shop structure of management and introduce a two-shift system at the livestock farms. A bureau of economic analysis is operating successfully at this farm.

The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May and November (1982) and June (1983) plenums were a turning point in the development of the rural economy. They impose exceptionally great demands on the party cadres and all communists. In order to lead others they must possess a good knowledge of today's farming conditions and skillfully direct the initiative of leaders and specialists. Only a person who has himself mastered the theoretical and practical knowledge is capable of instilling in others an economic way of thinking about things.

The comprehensive program for the transformation of the Nonchernozem zone also includes the resolution of social tasks. The outflow of the rural population to the cities has been largely stemmed here but it has not been stopped. The opportunities for self-construction of housing and social, cultural and everyday projects are poor, especially in the lagging farms, where less funds are available for housing. These kolkhozes and sovkhozes are a special case. Urban patronage and the construction organizations are strengthening them.

The task we have set is not simple: during the five-year plan to insure the handover of 1 million square meters of housing in the countryside (at least 50 apartments for each farm) and to connect all central farmsteads and rayon centers with hard-paved roads. Each month the party obkom and obispolkom examines the course of fulfillment of what has been planned. It will probably be necessary to return to these matters more than once. But the communists are fully resolved to complete what has been started.

The oblast party organization is trying to achieve a situation in which in the transformation of the villages the new management organs of the agrarian-industrial complex will assume their proper role and place more rapidly. We

are directing our main efforts toward overcoming administrative dissociation and coordinating the activities of the enterprises and organizations making up the agrarian-industrial complex, and especially its rayon wing.

In short, we have many problems. The resolution of some of them depends not only on the local organs. For example, the switch to the collective contract has exposed more acutely the shortage of some machines and units and has shown the need to introduce comprehensive mechanization more rapidly in the countryside. The shortages of specialists are marked. In order to transfer to the shop management structure, agronomists, zootechnics experts, veterinarians and engineers must have appropriate training. We are trying to involve them in various forms of economic studies. But it is essential that the program of the agricultural VUZ's takes more fully into account the transformations taking place in the agrarian-industrial complex.

The horizons of the Nonchernozem zone are broad. Speaking figuratively, they are merging fully with the panorama of affairs and the accomplishments of our entire country. The communists of the Orel area are improving their style and the methods of their activities so as to move ahead more boldly and successfully fulfill the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress.

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NATIONAL

KROPOTKIN'S VIEWS ON INCOMPATABILITY OF FEDERALISM, CENTRALISM DISCUSSED

Alma-Ata IZVESTIYA AKADEMII NAUK KAZAKHSKOY SSR: SERIYA OБSHCHESTVENNYKH NAUK
in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 83 (signed to press 14 Oct 83) pp 75-81

[Article by S.F. Udartsev: "On P.A. Kropotkin's Views on Federation"]

[Text] The political and legal views of the famous revolutionary, theoretician of anarchism, scientist and traveler P.A. Kropotkin (1842-1921) constitutes a prominent phenomenon in the history of political and legal thought of Russia of the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich recalled that in May 1919, just before meeting with Kropotkin V.I. Lenin remarked that in the future Kropotkin's works "despite the fact that he is an anarchist will be published as complete collections of works with every manner and kind of comment that ought to be made so that the reader clearly understands the difference between a petty-bourgeois anarchist and the genuine communist outlook of a revolutionary Marxist."¹ Federalism was an important element of Kropotkin's philosophical and political views.

In the revolutionary movement of the 19th century, several federative conceptions were propagandized: a federative constitutional monarchy (Decembrist N.M. Muravyev), various versions of Panslavic federation (the Decembrist "Society of United Slavs," M.A. Bakunin in the 1840s, A.I. Herzen, T.G. Shevchenko and others), the federation "United States of Europe" and world federation (M.A. Bakunin in 1860s and 1870s). N.G. Chernyshevskiy, S.I. Serakovskiy, I.Ya. Franko and others wrote about the future federative organization of Russia. The federation idea was contained in the program documents of the "People's Will."

A definite "federative" tradition also existed in bourgeois science in Russia. In the beginning of the 19th century, the question of federation was examined in lectures by A.P. Kunitsyn.³ Subsequently ideas of federalism were developed: in history by N.I. Kostomarov, in international law by D.I. Kachenovskiy, in state law by S.A. Korf and others. The idea of a confederative association was supported by M.M. Kovalevskiy.

K. Marks and F. Engels approached concretely-historically the assessment of federation as a form of state structure. Federation was not a dogma for them.⁴ V.I. Lenin and the Communist Party prior to 1917 defended the right of nations to self-determination and admitted that for Russia "so far and so long as different nations comprise a single state," democratic unitarism rather than

federalism is suitable.⁵ But prior to 1917, Lenin, as we known, allowed a federation "in individual, exceptional cases"⁶, and as a future state form of a world association and freedom of nations.⁷

After the February revolution, when there no longer existed for all practical purposes the former unified state under conditions of a powerful national-liberation movement and its connection with the struggle for socialism, Lenin reached the conclusion of the permissibility and the possibility of a federation in Russia. Shortly after the occurrence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party and V.I. Lenin proposed federation as a practical plan of state organization for Soviet Russia. In the Program of the party adopted in 1919, the thesis was incorporated of federation as a "transitional form on the road to complete unity."⁸ A concretely historical and class approach to the problem of federation is a characteristic trait of dialectical Marxist-Leninist theory. The nonclass, suprahistorical approach to federalism was a significant methodological defect of Kropotkin's petty-bourgeois theory.

Kropotkin became an adherent of federalism as far back as 1870. But only in 1917-1918 did the formulation of his views on federation culminate in a developed conception. The following articles, speeches and manuscripts of Kropotkin in 1917-1918 dealt especially with question of federalism: "A Contribution to the Question of Federation," "Federation," "The Federative Structure of Canada,"¹⁰ "Federation as the Way to Unification" and "Development of the Federative Structure in the 19th Century."

The federation in Kropotkin's teaching is a natural and universal form of unification corresponding, he was convinced, to a most important factor of progress of the animal kingdom and human society--mutual aid (in this is to be seen a certain consonance of the views of Kropotkin and M.M. Kovalevskiy). Kropotkin proceeded from the indissoluble unity of man and nature. Society and its forms (including federative organization) according to Kropotkin are a common feature of the animal and the human world. In addition, he wrote of a kind of natural federalism with reference to the universe and man, noting, for example, that "each individual presents a whole world of federation and includes in himself an entire cosmos."¹¹ In the history of human society, Kropotkin differentiates several forms of federalism; federation and confederation of clans and tribes among savages and barbarians, federation of free cities, villages and communities in the Middle Ages, state federations contemporary with him and future stateless federations.

The ideologue of anarchism somewhat idealized the Middle-Age period and considered it a most important stage of mankind's development, an attempt to provide for mutual aid "on a large scale with the help of principles of federation and association carried out through all the manifestations of human life and at all possible levels."¹² Kropotkin was greatly interested in N.I. Kostomarov's historical conception of the federative principle in Ancient Russia and considered him to be the founder of the "federalist school" in the history of Russia. According to Kostomarov, old Russia at the very beginning "strove for federation, and federation was the form in which it began to be embodied. The Tatar conquest made a sharp turn in its state life."¹³ Seemingly the

connection was not accidental between Kostomarov's idea of the struggle of two principles in the history of Russia (the "principality-vetche, federative" and the "autocratic-state") and Kropotkin's idealistic position to the effect that the struggle between the "Greek idea of freedom and federation" and the "Roman idea"¹⁴ of centralized power constituted the basic content of mankind's development. But in distinction to Kostomarov, he rightly emphasized the antagonism of the autocratic state and the people. He differently assessed the establishment of centralized states in Europe at the turn of the 16th century, considering them as a revival of the state following its absence in the Middle Ages.

Like Bakunin, Kropotkin enunciated the idea of the indiffereance of forms of state (including "unitary and federal") with respect to its nature.¹⁵ But when it came to real state, to practice, he came out as a propagandist of state federation. At the same time, he emphasized that the democratic system and federalism "were not attainable one without the other."¹⁶ In some cases, Kropotkin as a political realist gained the upper hand over the utopian anarchist, the practical worker over the theoretician. Obviously, the ambiguity and contradictoriness of the betty-bourgeois ideology of anarchism came to the fore. Apparently, this largely explains Kropotkin's participation as a member of the "History of Revolution" group at the State Conference convoked by the bourgeois Provisional Government in Moscow in August 1917. In a speech at the conference, Kropotkin was the only one of the speakers to call for the declaration of Russia as a republic and to organize it on federative principles on the example of the United States.¹⁷ Reference was made in a rough draft version of the speech to a republic and to self-government. Later on, possibly at the conference, Kropotkin added in the final version of the draft of the speech (insertion in his own hand): "republic and federative organization."¹⁸

Kropotkin's and Plekhanov's position on the war was sharply criticized by Lenin. Lenin called Kropotkin, who was supporting the war program of the Provisional Government, an "anarcho-trench man," using the words of the anarchist Ghee [Ge]. The idea of federation acquired a different meaning for a multinational state after the February revolution. Under the conditions of bourgeois bureaucratic unitarism, it was progressive. As we know, at the 1st All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June 1917, Lenin proclaimed: "Let Russia be a union of free republics." But Kropotkin's theory of federation contained fallacious positions.

Metaphysically opposing federalism and centralism, Kropotkin believed that the federation creates a real unity for a country, while centralism leads "to dissension and breakup." At the same time, social and political unity, to his ways of thinking, was in inverse proportion to centralization of power. Federalism was understood by him to be a means of decentralizing power. The idea of decentralization was recognized as a progressive idea of the time. He wrote in a letter to Novomirskiy that not only "territorial" but also "functional decentralization"²⁰ was necessary. Kropotkin illustrated the "destructiveness" of centralism and the "benevolence" of federalism with examples from the history of England, the United States and their colonies.²¹ At the same time, federalism and centralism were for him universal mutually exclusive bases of progress and regress, respectively.

In the work "Federation" (about 1917), Kropotkin, touching on studies of jurists, admitted that the question of "of local self-government and of the federative principle" "was obscured" by French and German jurists. German political scientists, he wrote, wished to justify the "predominance of one state over all the others" in a union of states. They "tried to explain the phenomenon of self-government with purely juridical formulas instead of putting the question on its true foundation--the historical foundation."²² In criticizing bourgeois jurists, Kropotkin assumed that self-government can only be learned historically while studying its evolution and role in history. Appearing as a partisan of a unique historico-genetic understanding of self-government and federalism, he pointed out the descriptive, external character of Prof N.I. Lazarevskiy's definition, following German jurists in the interpretation of self-government. In Kropotkin's opinion, Lazarevskiy's formal legal approach "provides no understanding either of the real origin of self-government or of its role in the life of a country."²³

In 1917, the League of Federalists was created in Moscow for the dissemination of the ideas of federalism and decentralism. Kropotkin was chairman of the league. It included representatives of various political directions (basically from petty-bourgeois parties, anarchists). The league was preparing 4-5 volumes of an "encyclopedia" on the federative structure. It was proposed to carry out an analysis of federalism in various aspects: geographic, ethnographic, historical, economic, political, juridical and others. But only the first volume was prepared. The league broke up in May 1918. After moving to Dmitrov, Kropotkin withdrew from work connected with the league. In a speech at a meeting of the League of Federalists (January 1918), Kropotkin spoke in detail of the need of a federation in Russia. He emphasized in particular that "only by means of a federative agreement and union would it be possible to establish unity without which the plains of Russia risked turning into a sea of dissension among its warlike neighbors, present and future."²⁴

Kropotkin argued for the necessity of federation in Russia in his work by means of various arguments: (a) the experience of historical development of other countries that were ahead of Russia; (b) the federalist interpretation of the period of feudal fragmentation; (c) enormity of the territory of the former Russian empire; (d) the diversity of life of its parts, national special features and at the same time the need of unity of these parts for withstanding conquest, destruction; (e) acknowledgment of the federative organization of a most appropriate local autonomy, initiative from below and creativity of the masses; (f) developmental tendency of social-political thought in Russia; and others.

Kropotkin attached to the Great October Socialist Revolution, as he said to V.D. Bonch-Bruyevich, great hopes on the plan of "transition to communism and federalism."²⁵ Reflecting in 1917 on the experience of federative development of the United States and Canada, he came to a conclusion on the duration of the forthcoming process of establishment of a federation in Russia,²⁶ Kropotkin attentively followed the development of the federative movement. Bonch-Bruyevich recollected that in a talk with Lenin in 1919 Kropotkin spoke of the organization in Spain "of some kind of small federation."

In 1920 when the need of a close union of Soviet republics was already being definitely felt, Kropotkin, addressing himself to the workers and progressive social circles of Western Europe, called upon them to force their governments to renounce armed intervention in Russia's affairs. It is here that he wrote: "The future of the different parts of which the empire was made up lies on the way of the Great Federation. The natural boundaries of the different parts of this federation can be quite clearly seen by those who are familiar with the history of Russia and its ethnic and economic life.... The future of that which was the Russian empire is the Federation of Independent Members (State Formations)."²⁷

Kropotkin's views differed from the position of a part of the anarchists who were inimical to the formed Soviet federation.²⁸ Kropotkin tried to combine various criteria for selecting the subjects of the federation. This explains his selection of Siberia (in addition to the Ukraine, the Baltic region, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia and so forth) as a constituent of the future federation. The autonomy of Siberia, in Kropotkin's opinion, should have pursued the aim of strengthening the unity and growth of the country as a whole and of its individual parts.

As a revolutionary, he sharply criticized the national policy of the Tsarist government, calling it "madness" destroying the unity of the peoples and the power of the country.²⁹ He rightly considered the initial basis of the federative organization of our country (1918) as an "absolute repudiation" by the Russian people "of the desire for dominance over the nationalities surrounding it."³⁰ In 1917, he recognized that the "Russian Federative Democratic Republic" ought to be formed "of roughly equivalent units--without the predominance of one over the others." "Only such a federation will be full of vital forces."³¹ Kropotkin was a consistent adherent of national equality.

In organizing the federation, he believed, it is necessary to take into consideration the special features and traditions of political development and self-government of different people and individual localities. In the conclusion of an examination of B.E. Nolde's book "Ocherki russkogo gosudarstvennogo prava" [Studies of Russian Constitutional Law], Kropotkin expressed the wish that this study be supplemented with a survey of the "autonomy of the Muslim peoples of European Russia, Cossacks Russian and Siberian, non-Russians of the Caucasus, Siberia and Turkestan as well as of individual regions annexed to the Russian empire in Turkestan and the Transcaucasus region."³²

In distinction to other anarchist and semianarchist federation plans, Kropotkin's plan was more realistic inasmuch as it in certain measure took into account the national factor. Thus during the time of preparation of the first Soviet Constitution of 1918, the constitutional commission was presented the semianarchist plan of commission member M.A. Reysner and the anarcho-syndicalist plan of Privat-Docent P.P. Rengarten. In the report "On the Basic Principles of the Constitution of the R.S.F.S. Republic" at a meeting of the constitutional commission, Reysner correctly noted that a bourgeois federation ("within the framework of the capitalist system") "loses every national feature." But the speaker drew a wrong conclusion from this to the effect that for a socialist federation "the national principle has even less significance in the political sense."³³ In Rengarten's plan, appended to Reysner's report,

not only the national but also the territorial principle of federation formation was rejected. It was proposed to create the state as a union of 5 vocational federations: "farmers," "industrial workers," "employes of trade enterprises," "employes of the state (functionaries)," "employes of private persons (servants)." These vocational federations were to include "in themselves all persons performing the above-mentioned forms of labor on the entire territory of the Russian state."³⁴ The plans of Reysner and Rengarten were not supported by the majority of the members of the constitutional commission and were criticized by Ya.M. Sverdlov, I.V. Stalin and others.

Despite all the diversity of views of Kropotkin, Reysner and Rengarten, the desire was common to them to lend a nonstate [negosudarstvennyy] character. Incidentally, the structure of the semianarchic federation proposed by Reysner (it had for its basis communes and their federation) was reminiscent in certain significant features of the federation plans of Bakunin, which were close to those of Kropotkin. But in distinction to Reysner and Rengarten, Kropotkin attempted to include diverse factors and to unify somehow different approaches. For this reason, he did not absolutize, as did Reysner, the territorial principle, but in distinction to Rengarten he did not deny the national-territorial and did not absolutize the vocational. The anarchist federation in Kropotkin's teaching (as in the case of Bakunin) is a universal means of attaining universal freedom "from bottom to top"--individual, group, vocational, regional, national and so forth. But, in distinction to Bakunin, Kropotkin was not inclined to work out detailed federative plans with detailed regulation of the structure, rights and interrelations of the individual elements of the federation. His idea was an abstract "free federative grouping from the simple to the complex,"³⁵ which could be filled with a varying content under different conditions. In this connection, federalism in itself was being made into a dogma. Kropotkin absolutized not the specific principle of federalism but federalism itself, handled in an anarchic mode. Anarchism forged his practical political forecasts and transformed the conclusions from the revolutionary practice of 1917-1920. B. Lebedev reminisced about Kropotkin: "I frequently heard this sentence from him: 'At every step I sense my kindred tie with the Bolsheviks.'"³⁶ Nonetheless the theoretician of anarchism did not understand everything and accept the October revolution and subsequent events so highly rated by him. Elements of political realism in Kropotkin coexisted with anarchic dogma.

As a variety of anarchic federalism, Kropotkin's federalism is contrary to Marxist-Leninist theory. The major difference lies in the understanding of federation. Marxism-Leninism recognizes it as a form of the single multinational state, particularly a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Anarchism is for a nonstate federation. Marxism-Leninism recognizes the close connection of democratic centralism and federalism under socialism. Emphasizing the nature of this principle, V.I. Lenin pointed out: "And it is necessary to clearly understand how very different democratic centralism is, on the one hand, from bureaucratic centralism and, on the other hand, from anarchism."³⁷ Democratic centralism in Marxism-Leninism is treated "not in the bureaucratic sense in which this term is used by bourgeois ideologues, anarchists included among the latter." Centralism in Marxism-Leninism by no means excludes broad local self-government and "eliminates any form of bureaucracy and any sort of

unconditional 'commands' from above."³⁸ Anarchism speaks for the incompatibility of federalism and local self-government with centralism.

After the October revolution, the Marxist-Leninist teaching of federation as a form of a democratically centralized multinational state is put into practice. Initially, the Soviet state was unitary. But it was already incorporated in the "Declaration of the Rights of Workers and the Exploited People" written by V.I. Lenin that the RSFSR "is instituted on the basis³⁹ of a free union of nations as a federation of Soviet national republics."⁴⁰ The emergence of the Soviet state confirmed the scientific nature of Marxist-Leninist theory. "The Creation of the USSR is the living embodiment of the ideas of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin and of Lenin's principles of national policy."⁴⁰

The inception of the first socialist federative state--the RSFSR and in 1922--the USSR as well as the achievements of socialist construction predetermined the collapse of the petty-bourgeois ideology of anarchism in the USSR. The most far-sighted of the anarchists became allies of the proletarian revolution. Among their number is P.A. Kropotkin, who as far as possible and within the limits of his world understanding (and sometimes in contradiction to the dogmas of anarchism) contributed to the dissemination of ideas on state federation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Among works on P.A. Kropotkin to appear in recent years, special mention should be made of the publication of a new scientific bibliography of his works (such an attempt was made for the first time in 1922). See: Starostin, Ye.V. (compiler), "P.A. Kropotkin (1842-1921): Bibliograficheskiy ukazatel' pechatnykh trudov" [P.A. Kropotkin (1982-1921): Bibliographic List of Printed Works]. Moscow, 1980, issue 1-2. This valuable list can be supplemented with certain foreign publications of Kropotkin's books, especially in recent decades, as well as his articles from Encyclopaedia Britannica (for example, those reissued after 1929 and several others not included in the list). An expanded reissue of this reference work would be most useful.
2. ZVEZDA, No 4, 1930, pp 189-190. See Also: Pirumova, N.M., "Petr Alekseyevich Kropotkin." Moscow, 1972, pp 197-218; Starostin, Ye.V., "On Meetings of V.I. Lenin and P.A. Kropotkin: (On the Question of Assigning Dates"--in the book: "Arkhеograficheskiy yezhegodnik for 1968 g." [Archeographic Yearbook for 1968]. Moscow, 1970, pp 225-229; Ibidem, "On the History of Publication of a Book."--In the book: Kropotkin, P.A., "Velikaya frantsuzskaya revolyutsiya 1789-1793" [The Great French Revolution of 1789-1793]. Moscow, 1979, pp 496-50s; Ibidem, "The Historico-Revolutionary Museum of P.A. Kropotkin."--In the book: "Velikiy Oktyabr' i neproletarskiy partii" [Great October and Nonproletarian Parties]. Moscow, 1982, pp 195-202.
3. See: Kuprits, N.Ya., "Iz istorii gosudarstvenno-pravovoy mysli dorevolyutsionnoy Rossii (XIX v.)" [From the History of Constitutional-Legal Thought of Prerevolutionary Russia (19th Century)]. Moscow, 1980, p 25.

4. For more detail, see, for example: Zlatopol'skiy D.L., "SSSR--federativnoye gosudarstvo" [The USSR--A Federative State]. Moscow, 1967, p 18 and others.
5. See: Lenin, V.I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], Vol 24, p 144.
6. See: Ibidem, Vol 7, p 233.
7. See: Ibidem, Vol 26, p 354.
8. See: Zlatopol'skiy, D.L. and Chistyakov, O.I., "Obrazovaniye Soyuza SSR" [Formation of the USSR]. Moscow, 1972, pp 33-34. For different points of view on this question, see: Lepeshkin, A.I., "Sovetskiy federalizm: (Teoriya i praktika)" [Soviet Federalism: (Theory and Practice)]. Moscow, 1977, pp 51-54.
9. See: "KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"yezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK" [The CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee]. Moscow, 1970, Vol 2, p 45.
10. On this manuscript there is the note: "Materials for Discussion of Questions on the Federal Constitution." See: USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit 746, sheet 1.
11. Kropotkin, P., "Anarkhiya. Yeye filosofiya, yeye ideal" [Anarchy. Its Philosophy, Its Ideal]. Leipzig; Saint Petersburg, 1906, p 7. I. Grossman-Roshchin correctly noted the existence of "cosmic federalism" in Kropotkin's views on nature. See: KRASNAYA NOV', 1924, Book 2, March, pp 140, 143-144.
12. Kropotkin, P., "Soch." [Works], Vol 7; "Vzaimnaya pomoshch', kak faktor evolyutsii" [Mutual Aid, as a Factor of Evolution]. Saint Petersburg, 1907, pp 213-214, see also: Kropotkin, P., "Sovremennaya nauka i anarkhiya" [Contemporary Science and Anarchy]. Petersburg; Moscow, 1920, p 178.
13. Kostomarov, N.I., "Sobr. soch." [Collected Works]. Saint Petersburg, 1903, Book 1, Vol 1, p 30.
14. See: Kropotkin, P., "Vzaimnaya pomoshch' sredi zhivotnykh i lyudey, kak dvigatei' progressa" [Mutual Assistance Among Animals and People as a Motive Power of Progress]. Petersburg; Moscow, 1922, p. 216.
15. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit, 521, sheet 68. See also: Kropotkin, P., "Sovremennaya nauka i anarkhiya", op cit, p 76.
16. USSR Central Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit 744, sheet 49. Kropotkin gave himself the moral right to disseminate the ideas of state federalism as an anarchist who promoted back in the 1880s the position of undermining the state system "through federalism" (See: USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit 418, back of sheet 2). Actually, this was an ideological screen for the contradictoriness and utopian nature of the theory of anarchism.

17. See: "Gosudarstvennoye Soveshchaniye" [State Conference]. Moscow; Lenin-grad, 1930, pp 231-232. The republic was formally proclaimed in Russia only on 1 September 1917.
18. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit 735, sheet 109. He evidently did not use the prepared remarks in his speech but dwelt in detail on the necessity of a federative republic (see *ibidem*, sheet 102).
19. See: Lenin, *op cit*, Vol 33, p 98.
20. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit 125, sheet 1.
21. See: GOLOS MINUVSHEGO, No 1, 1923, pp 16-17.
22. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus, 1, storage unit 744, sheets 3-4.
23. *Ibidem*, sheet 5.
24. GOLOS MINUVSHEGO, No 1, 1923, pp 15-16. Concerning the League of Federalists see: Pirumova, N.M., "Petr Alekseyevich Kropotkin", p 195. Miller, Martin A., "Kropotkin." The University of Chicago Press. Chicago and London, 1976, p 239; "Grazhdanskaya voyna i voyennaya interventsiya v SSSR: Entsiklopediya" [The Civil War and the Military Intervention in the USSR: Encyclopedia]. Moscow, 1983, p 33.
25. ZVEZDA, No 4, 1930, p 188; Bonch-Bruyevich, V.D., "Vospominaniya o Lenine" [Reminiscences about Lenin]. Moscow, 1965, p 410.
26. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit, 746, sheet 14.
27. Kropotkin's message.--In: "British Labour Delegation to Russia 1920. Report." London, 1920. See also: "Kropotkin Says, Stop the War."--FREE-DOM, London, Vol 34, July, No 374, 1920. Here use is made of a translation kindly given me by N.M. Pirumova. Another version of the translation is to be found in the book: "International Collection. P.A. Kropotkin and His Teaching." Chicago, 1931 (Here there was published a "translation from a translation").
28. See: Kanev, S.N., "Oktyabr'skaya revolyutsiya i krakh anarkhizma" [The October Revolution and the Collapse of Anarchism]. Moscow, 1974, pp 137-153.
29. See, for example: GOLOS MINUVSHEGO, No 1, 1923, p 15.
30. USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 1129, opus 1, storage unit, 744, sheet 10.
31. *Ibidem*, sheet 52.

32. It is not generally known that Kropotkin is the author of a series of articles on Kazakhstan and Middle Asia in three editions of Encyclopaedia Britannica (1880-1911). Ye.V. Starostin's reference work accidentally omits an article on Syrdarinskaya Oblast. See: Encyclopaedia Britannica, New York, 1911, Vol 26.
33. Shorthand report of the meeting of the Commission for Working out the RSFSR Constitution of 10 April 1918--USSR Central State Archives of the October Revolution, folio 6980, opus 1, storage unit 4, sheets 35,37.
34. Ibidem, sheet 55.
35. Kropotkin, P., "Sovremannaya nauka i anarkhiya", op cit, p 274.
36. Main Register of the State Order of Lenin Library imeni V.I. Lenin, folio 410, Room 410, storage unit 59, sheet 20.
37. Lenin, V.I., op cit, Vol 36, p 151.
38. Ibidem, Vol 33, p 73.
39. Ibidem, Vol 35, p 221.
40. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."--PRAVDA, 21 Feb 1982.

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NATIONAL

OBSOLETE METHODS, PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIERS SAID TO THREATEN RAPO

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Nov 83 p 1

[Unsigned article: "The Rayon Party Committee and the RAPO"]

[Text] Recently the Orenburgskiy Rayon Party Committee, Orenburg Oblast, held a highly important field meeting of its bureau. This was already written about in 'SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.' Secretaries of primary party organizations and farm managers had been invited to that meeting. The topic of discussion was a fundamentally important problem: how to get rid of formalism, of the non-implementation of the adopted resolutions, and how to overcome the inertia of obsolete methods of guidance by the party, especially within the agro-industrial complex system? An attendant topic was how to increase the responsibility of the partners within that complex in the struggle of toilers of the countryside to expand agricultural output?

The very formulation of the question implied both a fundamentally new approach to the socio-economic problems of the countryside and alarm and discontent over the current state of the matter. At the session it was found that although the formative process of the RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Association] still has not reached completion, microbes of the old way of administering and overdetailed supervision have already succeeded in infiltrating its young organism. In 7 months the rayon party committee adopted 146 different resolutions and the working organ of the RAPO--the agricultural administration--had during the same period transmitted for mandatory implementation 136 documents to the "Boyevoy" Sovkhoz alone! Was it possible to implement all of these instructions properly? Of course, no. The Orenburgskiy communists made bold to discuss honestly and candidly the characteristic flaws in the style and methods of their work, in order to rectify them. This was already discussed at reports-and-elections party meetings which stressed the topicality of the issue and attempted to identify the most urgent topics for broad discussion at the rayon party committee. Honest and thorough discussion contributed to improving all administrative practice. We mention this because we are convinced that the uncovered shortcomings are hardly just of local importance. They constantly manifest themselves in other regions as well. It is no accident that during the reports and elections communists increasingly often pay attention to these shortcomings and analyze in detail the interaction of party committees with RAPO councils.

Of course, gratifying changes have taken the place since the organization of RAPOs within the structure of the administration of agricultural production. Substantial accomplishments have been made. And what matters most may be that many partners of kolkhozes and sovkhozes no longer feel themselves to be

detached observers. Administrative parochialism has been overcome, and these partners show greater commitment and activism in the common cause, make considerable contributions to implementing the Food Program. For example, a plenum of the Volgograd Oblast party committee devoted to discussing the performance of the Shekskinskiy Rayon party organization noted the purposive activities of the local RAPO council, which stressed the propagation and application of advanced knowhow. In that rayon the industrialized techniques of flax growing were mastered and served to make it one of the leading rayons in the RSFSR as regards the yields and gross harvests of flax. Much has been done to expedite mechanization and reduce manual labor on commercial dairy farms. Instances of this kind are not isolated.

These positive phenomena became possible owing to the persistence of party committees. They show more trust in RAPO councils, delegating to them all the powers within their range of competences. Consider yet again: what was, properly speaking, the reason why these new agricultural organs had to be set up? It was due to the increased socio-economic and ideological-educational tasks, as was pointed out with perfect clarity at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Essentially, well-organized work of RAPO councils is expected to relieve the rayon party committees of excessive stress, save them a great deal of day-by-day administrative work. More exactly, it is intended to enable these committees to concentrate on organizational-party work: on the selection, assignment and education of cadres and the determination of the most promising lines in the development of the economy and culture. A single rayon economic administration can (if properly organized) eliminate duplication and promote a creative combination of effort. Under the new conditions, party committees find it much easier to achieve an organic fusion of ideological-educational and administrative tasks.

This might seem to be a truism that needs no proof. But analysis of the proceedings of reports-and-elections conferences as well as of mail from the readers of this newspaper leads unfortunately to the conclusion that negative processes are still strong. Certain rayon party committees still continue to duplicate the work of the new bodies, while certain RAPO councils, in their turn, twiddle their thumbs while awaiting directives from the top. What is more, in some places to this day the reason for the existence of RAPOs is not grasped to this day, supposedly in view of the existence of rayon agricultural administrations. This failure to understand is incontestably due to incompetent and timid restructuring which results in the survival of misconceptions. It turns out that, in addition to administrative barriers, it is no less difficult to eliminate psychological ones. These are just as definite and hardly exist of themselves. Primarily, they are due to the practice, which has taken root in certain rayon committees, of attending to literally every detail. For this reason, in such rayons, RAPO councils themselves do not display sufficient initiative and voluntarily surrender their extensive competences to rayon agricultural administrations. No wonder that passivity and lethargy sometimes give birth to skeptical views. The inertia of the traditional approach manifests itself also in the activities of the oblast organizations which, by habit, tend to solve literally every problem only through the mediation of the rayon party committees. Is not this why the work day of many first secretaries of rayon party committees and other co-workers of the apparat usually begins and ends with the telephones ringing and all sorts of "administrative" problems being transmitted to them for decision? Is not it time to make it a rule to refer such petitioners directly to the

addressee: the RAPO? By the same token, the rayon party committees would rid themselves of many functions that are not part of their duties.

This is, for example, how was done in Millerovskiy Rayon, Rostov Oblast. First, the rayon party committee saw to the strengthening of the agricultural department newly established within the apparatus, to developing an explicit strategy and tactics for its operation. For this is no secret that the day-by-day problems at that department always harbor the danger that it may be turned into some dispatcher service, into a relay station for all possible kinds of administrative directives. To prevent this from happening, the department has, together with the local RAPO council, upon the instruction of the party committee, carried out a thorough analysis of the economic condition of all farms and drafted a long-range program for intensifying agricultural production. As a result, it turned out that lagging kolkhozes and sovkhozes need urgent assistance. Accordingly, the rayon party committee is now correspondingly notifying the collectives of the "Sel'khozkhimiya" [Agricultural Chemistry Association], the "Sel'khoztekhnika" [Agricultural Equipment Association], and construction, transport, land-reclamation and processing organizations. The leading branch services and competent experts have been mobilized in this matter. The RAPO council was given priority in the detailed implementation of the complex whole of socio-economic transformations.

And indeed, a clearer allocation of rights and duties provides the right climate for creativity and resourcefulness. Take the instructive example of the Klin city party committee in Moscow Oblast, where it was understood that, after all, it is expensive for farmers to camp in shop premises or at the edge of a field in the wait for a missing spare part to be brought in from a depot hundreds of kilometers distant. The slow service incurs a considerable cost. Is it not better to bring this service close to the customer? The city party committee instructed RAPO experts to analyze this question thoroughly and draft appropriate recommendations. This is how arose the idea of the rayon trading base which can provide spare parts upon receiving urgent notice by radio via the dispatcher service. The problem of the norm-exceeding inventory of parts has also become solved of itself: they were transmitted to the base and are now being allocated according to need. Thus, the supply and repair service was provided with a real instead of "paper" warranty. This might seem to be something ordinary, not deserving special attention, but it is precisely such concerted action and initiative, which have nothing in common with an arbitrary and hasty decision, that are so woefully lacking sometimes in practical activities! Now that mention has been made of spare parts, it is worth noting that on the whole the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the RSFSR have accumulated an inventory of 900 million rubles of spare parts, which is equivalent to 82 percent of the spare parts stocked by the "Sel'khoztekhnika," that is, twice as large as the norm. For this reason, in the republic as a whole, warranty spare-parts service to agriculture through centralized and operative deliveries of spare parts somehow cannot be organized. But the Klin city party committee and the local RAPO council nevertheless organized warranty servicing efficiently within their rayon. In a word, if the level of party and administration performance is properly competent, any task, no matter how complex, can be accomplished.

This is being increasingly often pondered by communists, rank-and-file agricultural toilers. Experience shows that it is still not enough to establish new bodies, consolidate departments and select the needed personnel--now the relations among the partners should be inspected more rigorously and attentively

and people should be psychologically prepared for a qualitatively new level of work. The shop structure of administration and autonomous links based on the principles of remuneration according to final results should be introduced more persistently into production operations. Special attention should be paid to the brigade form of the organization of labor, which should be universally introduced as discussed at the session of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Essentially, a whole program of action has been outlined! It includes not only economic but also educational factors. A skillful utilization of these factors will enable party organizations to prompt farmers and animal husbandrymen to work more effectively and take a most active part in administrative affairs and in all innovations and progress. As a result, the influence of party committees on the work of RAPO councils will naturally strengthen and the interaction of all the subdivisions of the agro-industrial complex will improve.

1386
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NATIONAL

PROBLEMS IN SETTING UP RAPO ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS VIEWED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent D. Klenskiy: "Managing the Operation of the Rayon Agro-Industrial Associations. Party Life: the Raykom Before the Conference"]

[Text] How can the establishment of the new management organs in the countryside--the rayon agro-industrial associations [RAPO]--be accelerated? How can party leadership of the RAPO's be improved? These concerns today face every rural party raykom. The first steps forward have been taken--much work. This correspondent's report deals with the experience and problems of the Estonian Communist Party Tartuskiy raykom in RAPO leadership. It must be assumed that this question will be at the focus of attention at the upcoming rayon party conference.

They told me about the following case. A delegation traveled out from Tallinn to the sovkhoz imeni V.I. Lenin. In the morning the guests wanted to talk with the chief zootechnics expert.

"He is still sleeping," they were told with a smile at the office.

It turned out that at the sovkhoz mandatory rest time had been introduced for the leading specialists. The fact is that they have now stopped coming to work in time for the milking, that is, getting up at cockcrow, and going home toward midnight. And they are not complaining. They have been convinced that their efficiency is better and their contacts with people firmer.

This example, just a small matter, is typical of the changing attitudes toward labor. People's responsibility for their assignments has been enhanced. They are working with greater initiative. And behind the changes is the line taken by the raykom. Here they started precisely with improvement in the style of work.

Who should set the tone? The party raykom, of course. And at the local level they see that it is changing its approach to things. The number of decisions

adopted has been sharply reduced, and meetings, even operational meetings of the headquarters for field work, are now convened only under extreme necessity. Moreover, discussion is now restricted by strict rules.

"We have really started to fight formalism and inertia," the party committee secretary at the "Laeva" sovkhoz, K. Kotkas, remarked. "The principle of what is said should be done has been asserted. Last year, for example, there was a significant improvement in the supply of spares for equipment. Were there more spares? No. The workers from the State Committee for Supply of Production Equipment for Agriculture simply visited the farms more frequently and made it their business to find out what spares were being stored and what the real requirements were. That is all..."

It was important first of all to sort out who could be entrusted with the work at the rayon headquarters. One of the strongest production organizers in the rayon, Mart Leovich Avarmaa, has become the RAPO chairman. Zootechnics experts have not been appointed to management in agriculture. And this, of course, has had its effect on the state of livestock farming. When the RAPO was set up here they engaged the most capable and energetic specialists. And production output has now been growing for the past 2 years.

And what about the annual certification of managers and chief specialists at farms and enterprises included in the RAPO? This is also a raykom initiative! Kh. Parik, director of the "Tartu" sovkhoz, admitted that before the RAPO many people worked in a middling kind of way. The positive features were just passed around on carbon copies, as they say. But now credit must really be given where it is deserved. The actions of each manager are now analyzed in depth in the raykom.

Even the most talented managers, however, must grow, and this cannot be done without training. And the raykom has again taken the initiative. An agricultural department has been organized at the Tartu branch of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism for managers and chief specialists at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is the first department of its kind in the republic... Yet another university--an agricultural university--has been set up to improve the skills of milkmaids, vehicle operators, construction workers and land reclamation workers. It has, of course, become a mass university.

"We also have another idea." The chief of the raykom political education office E. Paas was sharing his thoughts. "We are thinking of organizing joint training for farmers and their RAPO partners."

Socialist competition has been considerably enlivened. A curious conversation took place with the vehicle operators at the "Rakhvaste syprus" kolkhoz. At the strong farms, they reasoned, there are opportunities to offer proper incentives for the workers. But what about the rest? People do excellent work in, say, harvesting work, but the till is still empty, and it will be a long time before the funds are available for the harvest that has been gathered in. How can this be? The RAPO immediately supported an experiment with the so-called bonus in kind. It was given in the form of produce--potatoes, grain.

Today I was present at the traditional contests for plowmen at the "Yulenurme" training and testing farm. Formerly, only the best vehicle operators used to attend. On this occasion, everyone who is soon to be involved in fall plowing has gathered here. And I have this observation: formerly, many measures were "for show," formal, and it all resembled a country fair, with a brisk trade in beer and shashlik. But now the main attraction in the program is the contest itself. And for the contestants the important thing is not so much winning as the exchange of experience and the advice of specialists.

The efforts of the RAPO have also touched upon links between the countryside and the city. In addition to the representatives of the farms, the council includes the managers of 14 enterprises and organizations that provide services for the countryside or process output. It is still too soon to talk about fundamental changes. However, as many note with satisfaction, contacts between people have become closer, and the acute problems that arise are resolved more flexibly. The proper regulation of patronage links both in Tartu and in the rayon is considered a healthy sign. The raykom has assumed control of these links and established a precise but simple accountability which does not require a lot of fuss to organize.

The fact is that today help for the countryside is provided only on a contract basis. And partnerships are established for long periods and not just for a year or two, as used to happen. Training for patronage vehicle operators has been organized in the city. Both the patrons and the proteges now know each other, as they say, face to face. Each evening (take note: each evening!) the enterprise and farms managers discuss the plans for the next day.

It is typical that under RAPO conditions patronage is becoming a two-way street. There are increasing numbers of the following kind of example: in the winter, when things are relatively quiet in the countryside, tractors with the emblems of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes clear the snow from the city roads. Emissaries from the countryside are also working on the reconstruction of the Tartu meat combine.

Science is becoming an increasingly active partner of the countryside. This is the more valued since up to now its possibilities have been used very poorly. The situation was one of painful absurdity. Tartu is "endowed" with agricultural scientific establishments like no other city in the republic. It is a sin not to make use of them! But time and the appropriate conditions were necessary. And in addition to everything else, the raykom showed initiative here also. On its recommendation the RAPO council confirmed eight problem themes, to which Tartu scientists were assigned. The first study is already on the specialists' desks; it drew up measures aimed at balancing the development of crop growing and livestock farming. For the rayon as a whole and for each farm...

With the active participation of the RAPO, cooperation has been established between the Estonian Agricultural Academy and the farms to which it is assigned. The staff of the grassland husbandry department has assumed patronage of the "Sootaga" sovkhoz, which will soon be transformed into a unique testing ground to study the possibilities of increasing pastureland productiveness. At the

"Alatskivi" sovkhoz they have their "own" specialists from the department of livestock farming mechanization, and at the "Emayye" kolkhoz they have the economists.

We cannot call the first steps of the Tartu RAPO timid. So many instructive situations! The director of the local fish combine M. Salo used to market protein-rich waste in random places in other rayons, asking for essential materials and equipment in exchange. At a meeting of the RAPO council this practice was decisively condemned: there is a shortage of protein additives at the local farms. The director was told directly: "If you have shortages, come to us. We will help!" Or take this example. The grain products combine is doing much in the interests of the rayon. Its collective wins class places in socialist competition but the sector leaders pass it by when it comes to providing incentive for the specialists and workers. The combine has obtained these funds through the RAPO.

The raykom's position is difficult: the new conditions require a bold break with representatives and views that interfere with matters. Therefore the raykom people are persistently and consistently seeking out new forms of organizational and political work. Contacts between party organizations and their secretaries have become more frequent. And what can be done to make these contacts really firm? A general rayon council of party organization secretaries has been set up under the raykom. It is led by M. Prans, chief of the raykom agricultural section. And the first meeting with the RAPO council has taken place; it is intended to hold such meetings once every quarter. And a problem group studying the possibility of accelerating the liquidation of lagging by economically weak farms is already operating under the council of secretaries.

"The communists in the rayon are now supporting our initiatives more actively than before," party raykom first secretary L. Puksa said. "The accountability reports and elections to the party groups and shop and primary party organizations indicate a new upsurge in people's initiative and their enhanced sense of responsibility. We shall continue the search and increase our experience. This must be done!"

9642
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NATIONAL

YEVTSHENKO INTERVIEWED ON CONTRIBUTION TO POETRY, CINEMA

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 83 p 3

[Interview of Yevgeniy Yevtushenko conducted by Andrey Lebedev: "Talent Is Not an Accidental Miracle"]

[Text] The meeting with Yevgeniy Yevtushenko took place in a rather unusual place--the sound studio of the Mosfil'm Film Studio. Recording was going on there for the movie "Kindergarten," in which the poet made his debut as a screen writer and director.

"The film is highly autobiographical," explains Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich. "It's a sort of child's 'Oliver Twist' journey through the Dantesque circles and levels of the bedlam of war. The idea for the picture came to me back in 1972, during an appearance in the American city of St. Paul. I was attacked by hooliganistic fascist scum. They pushed me off the stage and beat me up. I kept reading anyway, but I felt a sharp pain in my side. Then they took me to the hospital, did an X-ray, and an American doctor said: 'I think they have hit an old crack in your rib.'

"I began sifting through the memories of my life and remembered how in 1941, in the evacuation, I was walking through the bazaar hungry, and saw some potatoes steaming on cabbage leaves, sprinkled with dry dill. I did not steal them, but simply approached, took them, and began to eat. The speculators who were selling them fell on me and beat me so hard that they cracked my rib. I told this story to the doctor and suddenly saw tears in his eyes: 'We in America know almost nothing about the suffering of Soviet children during the war, or about hunger. I saw your story vividly, like a film....'

"So, unexpectedly, the idea began to grow in me for the coming film 'Kindergarten.' The children I filmed have asked me questions that shook me up: what is an evacuation, what is a bread ration? One the one hand, it is a great joy that our children don't know everything that we lived through. On the other hand, I think that they should know and remember it. The greatest danger is losing the memory of history. Today, when the threat of nuclear catastrophe has come to hang over the world, we would like to remind both children and adults how terrible the past war was. Yet one in the future might be even more terrible. We must do everything possible to prevent it, to make the very concept of 'war' disappear.

"Most of my actors are not professionals. Professional actors played small roles in the film. I would like to mention especially the Austrian actor Klaus Marie Brandauer, who won an Oscar for the leading role in the Hungarian film 'Mephisto.' When Brandauer came to the Soviet Union for shooting, he said: 'They warned me not to participate in a Soviet propaganda film. I have seen that your film is indeed propagandistic--it is propaganda for peace and friendship between peoples. And in this sort of propaganda I will gladly participate....'"

[Question] What made you turn to directing?

[Answer] Directing is not a profession, it's a way of life. Ideally, every person should be a director, both in his own life, and trying to take part in directing the life of mankind. The peasant directs the field, the worker directs the machine. If you want to talk about the profession of film directing specifically--I think it's many-sided. I don't believe there can be a director who would not have been a writer by nature. I don't believe in a director who can make a film by the screenplay alone, without putting lines into it, or participating in the creation of the screenplay itself. A director should know the manuscript, the music, and should himself be--even if only in private--a good actor, a sensitive psychologist, and a strong leader.

The cinema has played a role in my life no smaller than that of literature. I began publishing early, from the age of 15. I wrote not about the life around me, but that which I imagined. During this time, films of Italian neorealism were appearing. They suggested that the beautiful is all around, it is scattered throughout everyday life. When I told this to the "fathers of Italian neorealism," whom I later met, they answered, smiling, that they, conversely, considered themselves students of Russian prose of the 19th century.

[Question] In my view, the theme and subject matter of "Kindergarten" are closely interwoven with your poem "Mama and the Neutron Bomb."

[Answer] Yes, the tasks facing me were one and the same. If the poem had dealt abstractly with the subject of humanity and the neutron bomb, I think the poem would have collapsed, been converted into a political 1-day placard. But when I wrote about my own mother, the story of my family, then the concept of "humanity" acquired a concrete reality.

I have been in 67 countries and have seen that the main laboring segment of mankind is a group of fine people. But the majority is divided by that minority which conducts its business and is supported only thanks to the separation of people, which it profits from. I believe that this separation is not endless. I think that in our era, which is overcast by the shadow of the mushroom cloud hanging in the air, the writer's role as uniter of nations has grown immeasurably. In the face of a direct militaristic threat, we, the people of art, do not have the moral right to concern ourselves with the ambiguous art of silence. Our novels, poems, pictures, and films, must

be combined in the great international barricade against the ways of war. Today, he who is not a fighter for peace is not a writer.

[Question] What disturbs you, makes you glad, or worries you in young people's poetry?

[Answer] I am deeply concerned about the state of young people's poetry today. For many years, one poet has staggered me with her poems. She is Nika Turbina, an 8-year-old schoolgirl from Yalta. I have just edited a book of Nika's for the Molodaya Gvardiya Publishing House titled "Chernovik" [Rough Draft]. I came into conflict with many people who were opposed to publishing the child's book. They said things like this: "Won't she get spoiled? Become conceited? Won't we destroy her budding talent?" I have a different point of view. I believe that in this we are giving support not only to her but to the development of children's creativity in general. I also have great hopes for Marina Kudimova from Tambov. She has had just one small book published with Molodaya Gvardiya--"Perechen' prichin" [List of Reasons]. But it is a serious, genuine talent.

Jules Renoir said that even when it is calm, talent is like a propeller which creates a wind. And the times, of course, make the poet. But poets also make the times. Is it possible that poetry is now being devalued? What is the reason for it? I think it is the lowering of the criteria for acceptance into the Writers Union.

And something else. Many poets, arriving on the literary scene, try to master the formula of someone else's success. It is not enough to be talented; it is necessary to nourish one's talent, to teach it to walk on the earth, to teach it to be wiser and broader, to absorb all the surrounding impressions, suffering and joy, the whole wide world with its daily troubles and global politics. The more you give to people, the more you gain. But now a dangerous tendency has been observed--a certain pragmatism and spiritual stinginess of some young poets. Our society, which still suffers from poor management, needs businesslike people. But I do not completely agree when in certain works the so-called tough heroes are more like Russian versions of Western businessmen than people who feel themselves to be the direct descendants of all Russian history and the age-old agony of Russian truth-seeking which was so brilliantly portrayed in our literature of the 19th century. The true poet cannot be produced from those who want to live peacefully.

[Question] It is a fine quality to be able to help in misfortune, to be needed. But do we always share a friend's joy and success as sincerely as his pain?

[Answer] There is a proverb: a friend becomes known during hardship. I would add that a friend becomes known during joy also. I had very many good friends who helped me when things were going poorly. But when things were going well for me they couldn't stand it. With regard to myself, I think that if there is a microbe of envy in a man, there is nothing more destructive for him! It is a terrible, destructive feeling....

[Question] Poets who are just starting out often complain that for celebrities everything is easier, that all doors are open for them....

[Answer] Only a philistine could share that opinion. Just like the young poets, the "venerable" poets as it were start their lives over again in art with each new poem. And there are plenty of difficulties and obstacles on the road for each of us. I constantly hear this from people starting out in literature: they are not getting into print, they are not lucky. What does it mean to be lucky or unlucky? The pie in someone else's mouth is always sweeter. I was already famous when I wrote the poem "Under the Skin of the Statue of Liberty." And it was turned down by 18 journals. Nevertheless, I got it printed in NEMAN. A very difficult fate was also endured by my novel "Yagodnyye mesta" [Berry Places]. I showed it to seven different journals. A writer has to struggle for his works and not lose heart....

[Question] To what do you attribute your success?

[Answer] I had the luck to meet good people. They were old poets. In life you run into indifference, callousness, and lack of faith in yourself. But you mustn't think, encountering cynicism and indifference once, or even many times, that the world is built on that.

[Question] What do you regard as the most important thing in human relations?

[Answer] Not to demand heroism from every person. But there is that moral minimum which can be demanded. For me this is the impossibility of betraying either friends or whatever is stored inside you. And if a man has something inside him, then it is not his alone, and not simply from nature. All the good in us has been put there by others. If a man betrays his talent, he is at the same time betraying those who "invested" that talent in him.

[Question] Does that mean that talent cannot exist in and of itself?

[Answer] No, not at all. Doctors will wave their hands, saying that I don't believe in genetic factors. But there are also psychological genes, which we nourish from the first steps taken in life. And it is necessary to be a strong person, for life puts into us both good and bad. So I don't believe it when they tell me that a poet can be a bad person but a good professional: the poetic aspect is degraded along with the human.

[Question] Are you familiar with creative stagnation and depression?

[Answer] I think Mayakovskiy said it very well: he who is always serene is, in my opinion, merely stupid. Depression is known even to the most cheerful people, only some of them hide it. They conceal their weaknesses, afraid to acknowledge them, wanting to appear more like concrete than they really are. But the fear of speaking openly about personal weaknesses is itself a very terrible weakness.

[Question] You've been shooting your film for a year. Have you been able to write anything new during this time?

[Answer] I started a story, "Veterans' Match," about the famous generation of soccer players, Bobrov, Khomich, and others, who were the idols of my childhood. I may also write a novel on the motifs of "Kindergarten." I have several other novels planned. And of course poems.

[Question] What is your personality like?

[Answer] It is easy to reproach me with the Prutkovian aphorism: "It is impossible to comprehend the infinite." But that is exactly what I have been trying all my life to do. Maybe that is why I was so profoundly moved by Chingiz Aitmatov's novel "I dol'she veka dlitsya den'" [And the Day Stretches Longer Than a Century]. He presents as it were a "geological section" of our era. I love to observe life in all its manifestations. It's a shame when writers limit themselves to some definite, segmented theme: city, country, youth. Why is it impossible to tie everything up together? Why can't the past be combined with the present and future?

[Question] The first book of a three-volume collection of your works has just come out....

[Answer] Yes, this is the most representative collection of my poetic works. But unfortunately it does not include any of my prose, critical articles, or translations....

[Question] What question would you ask of yourself?

[Answer] Every day I ask myself thousands of questions. And very often I try to get out of answering. According to Voznesenskiy, poets are questions.

[Question] Which of your works do you consider the best, the most successful?

[Answer] It is always difficult for the poet to judge this, but the best things I have written, from my point of view, are "This is what's happening with me," "Weddings," and chapters from the poem "Brother GES"--"Fair in Simbirsk" and "Execution of Sten'ka Razin." I also value my poem "Pigeon in Santiago." But right now the most important thing to me is the film "Kindergarten."

12255
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NATIONAL

SHOSTAKOVICH BIOGRAPHY ATTEMPTS TO DISPEL WESTERN VIEWS

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 December 1983 carries on page 3 under the headline "In All Its Magnitude," a 600-word book review about the recently published four-volume biography of Dmitriy Shostakovich. The article, written by A. Romanov, praises the scope of the work and notes that S. Khentova, a well-known musicologist, devoted 20 years researching the composer's life. The material covers Shostakovich's early years, through the time of the Great Patriotic War, and concludes with his artistically "mature period" from 1945 to 1975.

The article points out Shostakovich's patriotic sentiments in reference to the final volume of the work, which describes not only the "formation and perfecting of his musical talent," but also his "active state and public activities as a Deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and as a leader in Russia's Union of Composers."

Shostakovich's own autobiographical material which consists of patriotic sketches and speeches is described as "deeply sincere and understood by every Soviet individual." One such statement from Shostakovich's biography is included in the article. The composer reflects: "I was always guided in my creative work by inspiring guidelines from the Communist Party. It seems to me that I have not only been a witness to the great work of the Communist Party. It seems to me that even, to a small extent, I am a participant in this great task. My creative and public work give me the right to think this way."

The author defends the importance of such biographical research likening it to a "journalistic glow" which will "frighten the enemies of Soviet music, the falsifiers of the composer's creative views, the liars of all sorts of cock-and-bull stories about him, and the anti-Soviets of varying degrees." The article pinpoints the timeliness of this biography at a stage when "abroad, undeserving attempts are taken to distort the composer's civic-minded attitudes and the true direction of his creative works."

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REGIONAL

KUNAYEV NOMINATED BY ALMA-ATA/LENINSKIY ELECTORAL OKRUG

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 83 pp 2,4

[Article: "The High Trust of the People"]

[Excerpts] The floor is given to L. V. Kochetova, a weaver in the first factory and a Hero of Socialist Labor.

"I propose nominating Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev-- member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, and prominent figure in the Communist Party and Soviet state--as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Alma-Ata/ Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617 in the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union.

"The life path of Comrade D. A. Kunayev is the path of a true son of the Leninist party. A machinist, a shop foreman, a chief engineer, an ore administration director, president of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee -- no matter in what post Comrade Kunayev worked, he always gave all of his efforts, knowledge and experience to the task of further developing the republic's economy and culture and raising the workers' prosperity. As a member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, I have repeatedly been convinced of how comprehensively and soundly Comrade Kunayev approaches every question that arises. I also know him as a sensitive and sympathetic person."

Zh. Sarsenbayeva, a winding-machine operator and deputy to the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet, said in her presentation: "We, textile workers, know that Comrade Kunayev has headed Kazakhstan's party organization for many years, demonstrating in this great organizational abilities and putting all of his energy into the task of developing the republic's economy, science and culture and improving the worker's prosperity. He has repeatedly been elected a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and he has always coped well with the duties of an elected represented of the people.

"Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev devotes a great deal of attention to the work of our enterprise and to increasing the production of consumer goods.

He approaches questions concerning the improvement of party leadership of the economy from positions of high exactingness and principles. We also know Comrade Kunayev as a person who is attentive to the needs of the workers and who has done a great deal for the organization of public services and amenities in the republic's order-decorated capital. He has been awarded the high title of Hero of Socialist Labor three times for his great services to the party and the Soviet people. I support with all my heart the nomination of Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

L. N. Kamkina, a weaver in the second factory, said: "Our republic has been transformed beyond recognition under the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. We are solving one of the most important tasks -- we are producing goods for the people. We are trying to make our fabrics more beautiful and sturdy. Several million rubles of them have been produced above the annual plan. We will increase the effectiveness and quality of our work in the future.

"I happily support the proposal to nominate Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

K. Kadylbekova, a combing machine operator and a shop Komsomol organizer in the second factory, spoke in the name of the young textile workers:

"The youth of our combine are preparing with great happiness and enthusiasm for the elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Many will vote for the first time. In the USSR Constitution, youth -- just as other citizens -- are granted very broad rights. We sense every day the fatherly concern of the Communist Party for young men and women. Every condition for their harmonious and all-round development has been created for them. Many of them in our collective are successfully combining studies and work, engage in the circles and workshops of the beautiful Palace of Culture, and train in the sports sections. We answer the party's and government's concern with glorious deeds and we are achieving an overfulfillment of the quotas. There are quite a few shock workers of communist labor among the youth.

"We support the nomination of Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet."

S. Niyazova, a drier in the decorative work factory, and Ye. F. Golubkin, the combine director, also heartily supported the candidacy of Comrade D. A. Kunayev.

The meeting participants unanimously adopted a decree to nominate Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union from Alma-Ata/Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617 and to ask him to agree to run from this electoral okrug.

* * *

The pre-election meeting of workers, engineer and technical workers, and employees in the Order of the Labor Red Banner Machine-Building Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in Alma-Ata took place amidst a great deal of political enthusiasm.

A. M. Svetashev, cutter, proposed nominating Comrade D. A. Kunayev, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union from Alma-Ata/Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617.

He said: "All of us know Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich as one of the prominent political and state figures who has given all their efforts and knowledge to the cause of the party and the people. Comrade Kunayev devotes continuous attention to the development of the republic's diversified national economy and to the further growth of the workers' prosperity. We also know him as a sympathetic and sensitive person. He has worthily represented Kazakhstan for many years in the country's highest organ of state power."

R. G. Dzhumabekov, a lathe operator; A. N. Pronevich, a shop foreman; R. S. Sklyarova, a gear-tooth miller; Kh. Soldanbayev, a polisher; and V. A. Burkov, a design bureau department chairman, who spoke during the meeting, heartily supported the candidacy of Comrade D. A. Kunayev.

The meeting unanimously decreed that it would nominate Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union from Alma-Ata/Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617 and ask him to agree to run from this okrug.

* * *

A pre-election meeting to nominate a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Alma-Ata/Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617 was held in Alma-Ata's "Kzyl tu" Plastic Processing Production Association. Those, who spoke, proposed nominating Comrade D. A. Kunayev, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting unanimously resolved to nominate Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Alma-Ata/Leninskiy Electoral Okrug No. 617.

Rudnyy (Kustanay Oblast). The pre-election meeting of the collective of the Sokolovsko-Sarbayskiy Mining Enrichment Combine took place with high political enthusiasm. K. K. Aldabergenov, a leader of a brigade of power-shovel operators in the Sarbayskoye ore administration, is at the podium.

He said: "The Soviet people unanimously approve the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU which is aimed at steadily improving the Soviet people's

well being and at strengthening peace throughout the world. They have received the decisions of the December 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum with enormous enthusiasm.

"In the name of my work comrades, I propose nominating Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev, one of the prominent figures of the Communist Party and the Soviet state and a three-time Hero of Socialist Labor, as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. While heading Kazakhstan's party organization for many years, he demonstrated a great deal of organizational ability and made a significant contribution to the development of the republic's economy and culture."

Having supported this proposal V. A. Gureyev, the leader of a brigade of power-shovel operators in the Sokolovskoye ore administration, also nominated Yevgeniy Ivanovich Verovochkin -- a leader of a brigade of power-shovel operators, one of the best miners and a teacher of youth -- as a candidate for deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The meeting unanimously resolved to nominate Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Verovochkin as candidates for deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of the Union from Rudnenskiy Electoral Okrug No. 639 and to ask them to agree to run from that electoral okrug.

* * *

A pre-election meeting of the workers, engineer and technical workers and employees of the "Sokolovrudstroy" Trust imeni the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution has also been held. Its participants unanimously nominated Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev and Yevgeniy Ivanovich Verevochkin as candidates for deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet from Rudeneskiy Electoral Okrug No. 639.

* * *

Representatives to Okrug pre-election meetings were elected during the meetings that were devoted to nominating candidates for deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

8802
CSO: 1830/185

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN PERMANENT COMMISSIONS PREPARE FOR SUPREME SOVIET SESSION

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 27 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: "Before the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] In connection with the 8th session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet of the 10th convocation coming on the 17th of January, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium assigned the plan-budget and other permanent commissions of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet a preliminary examination of the state budget of the Azerbaijan SSR for 1984, account for the execution of the Azerbaijan SSR state budget for 1982, and course of fulfillment of the state plan for economic and social development of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1983.

On the 26th of December, the joint plenum of the plan-budget and other permanent commissions of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet took place. The session was conducted by the chairman of the plan-budget commission, deputy M. A. Mamedov.

The Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, Gosplan Chairman, deputy A. N. Mutalibov reported on the draft of the state plan for economic and social development of the Azerbaijan SSR in 1984 and the course of the plan fulfillment in 1983.

The participants of the session also heard the report by the Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Finance, deputy B. G. Bakhshaliyev, on the draft of Azerbaijan SSR state budget for 1984 and on the 1982 budget execution.

As was noted at the session, the draft of the plan and budget for the next year, worked out in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, May, November (1982), June 1983 plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and the 30th Congress of the Azerbaijan CP stipulates the maximum utilization of the resources of the people's economy, increase of the social production effectiveness, increase of labor productivity, and decrease of material and energy resources expenditures. The plan and budget draft are directed towards the further dynamic development of all the branches of people's economy of the republic and steady rise in the people's material and cultural standard of living.

A communication by the chairman of the plan-budget commission M. A. Mamedov was heard at the commission session regarding the work order and schedule of the plan-budget and other commissions concerning the preliminary examination of the plan and budget draft for 1984, the course of the plan fulfillment in 1983, and the account for the budget execution in 1982.

Thirteen preparatory commissions were formed from the permanent commissions contingent for the purpose of a preliminary examination of the corresponding plan and budget sections.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Chairman S. A. Rustamzade, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Secretary R. S. Kaziyeva, the head of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Economic Department Z. A. Samedzade, the chairmen of the permanent commissions, the leaders of the ministries, state committees, and departments of the republic, as well as those of the administrations and associations of the all-union subordination situated on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR, executives of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Council of Ministers, and the Azerbaijan SSR Committee of People's Control and the invited specialists participated in the session.

On the same day, the organizational sessions of the preparatory commissions approved the work plans and discussed other questions connected with the preliminary examination of the drafts for the Azerbaijan SSR economic and social development state plan and state budget for 1984, the account for the budget execution for 1982, and the course of plan fulfillment during 1983. (Azerinform)

12404
CSO: 1830/193

REGIONAL

AZERBAIJAN SSR SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES 1984 PLANS

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 Dec 83 p 2

[Article: "In the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] On the 16th of December, under the chairmanship of Kh. A. Khalilov, a session of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium took place.

The plan for the main measures, outlined for carrying out in the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium in 1984 was discussed and approved.

The question was considered "About the State of the Nakhichevan ASSR local Soviets of People's Deputies Work Regarding the Improvement of Housing and Material-Domestic Conditions for the Participants of the Great Patriotic War and the Families of the Fallen Soldiers", the report on which was presented by Chairperson of the Nakhichevan ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium S. A. Aliyeva.

It was noted that, fulfilling the corresponding decrees of the party and the government, the local soviets of people's deputies in the autonomous republic have increased their attention and care regarding improving the material-domestic conditions for the participants of the Great Patriotic War.

During recent years, the work was increased regarding the provision of medical and sanatoria-health resort services for the participants and, especially, for the invalids of the war and also for the families of the fallen military servicemen. Steps were taken for the improvement of the social security organization for the persons in this category, and the necessary attention is being paid to questions regarding their provision with the communal, domestic, and retail services. The soviets' ispolkoms, as a rule, solve the questions of the improvement in their housing condition on time.

As was noted in the course of the discussion, together with this, there are still some shortcomings in this work of the local soviets in the autonomous republic. The cases of law violations concerning the privileges for the invalids and participants of the war were allowed to happen in individual enterprises, institutions, and organizations. The health services agencies

in the autonomous republic do not pay sufficient attention to the organizing of separate bedrooms and rooms for medical services for the war participants at the medical-prophylactic institutions. It is still not everywhere that home delivery of pensions and benefits is established. At times, during the solution of the housing problems, in particular regarding the apportionment of lots for the construction of individual houses and also the purchasing of the necessary construction materials, a formal-bureaucratic attitude is allowed towards invalids, participants of the war, and the families of the fallen military servicemen. No small amount of justified reproaches is still caused by the retail-domestic and cultural services.

As is known, in June of this year, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium examined the question "About the Work of the Azerbaijan SSR Soviets of People's Deputies Towards the Fulfillment of the Law Requirements Pertaining to the Strengthening of Labor Discipline and the Provisions for the Rational Utilization of Labor Resources". In connection with this, the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a corresponding decree, in which specific measures were mapped out and the necessary assignments were given to the local soviets of people's deputies.

During the current session of the presidium, the work concerning this area carried out by the soviets of people's deputies of the Geokchayskiy Rayon was examined as a matter of control.

It was noted that the rayon soviets of people's deputies and its agencies, realizing the decisions of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the directives of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, under the leadership of the party agencies have carried out definite work regarding the further strengthening of the state and labor discipline and the improvement of the labor resources utilization.

The positive developments are notable in the utilization of working time, decrease in cadre turn-over, and the formation of stable labor collectives. The preparation of the working cadres and professional orientation of students was improved, more attention has been paid to the involvement of the general education schools graduates into social production.

Together with this, in the activity of the local soviets and their executive agencies in the rayon regarding the strengthening of the state and labor discipline and improvement of the labor resources utilization, there are still significant shortcomings. In a number of soviets the comprehensive measures have not been worked out and the necessary control over the condition of affairs at the enterprises and in the branches of economy has not been established. It is still not everywhere that the atmosphere of intolerance has been created for the violators of discipline and measures are being taken toward the introducing of progressive forms of labor organization, and increasing the role of the labor collectives. The struggle with the persons shunning the socially useful work is carried out weakly. In the rayon, the reserves of the labor resources utilization are being studied and analyzed insufficiently.

In this matter, the activity of the permanent soviets' commissions is low. The interaction between the deputies with the people's control agencies and social organizations is established insufficiently. The noted shortcomings testify, primarily, to the Geokchayskiy rayspolkom's inability to achieve the full volume fulfillment of the tasks that it is facing regarding strengthening of the labor discipline and provisions for the rational utilization of labor resources.

The question of the work by the executive committee of Ali-Bayramlin city soviet of people's deputies for execution of the housing laws was examined at the session. It was noted that in the city, no small work is being done concerning the improvement of housing conditions for the population and the preservation of the housing resources. From the beginning of the current five-year plan, 34,000 square meters of housing were introduced; more than 3,000 people have improved their living conditions. A large volume of organizational work for public services and amenities has been carried out; the entire departmental housing resources were transferred to the gorsoviet management.

However, not everything here is going well. The houses turned over for operation often are not occupied for a long time due to the imperfections and defects. The gorispolkom does not take the necessary measures in organizing the housing-construction cooperatives. The quality and the time-periods for capital repairs of housing leave much to be desired. They have the facts of violations of the housing requirements laws during the citizens admission to the housing register at enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

The decrees were adopted on the discussed questions mapping out specific measures directed towards the liquidation of the present shortcomings.

At the session, the work of the law and order agencies of the republic was examined regarding the compensation of the material damage caused to the state by crime, as well as a number of other questions concerning which the corresponding decrees were also adopted.

The Presidium members F. R. Mustafayev, M. D. Nasirov, N. V. Nikitin, the Azerbaijan SSR Minister of Internal Affairs D. D. Veliyev, the republic Minister of Housing-Communal Economy V. S. Mayorov, the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Court Chairman I. I. Ismailov, the republic First Deputy Prosecutor A. D. Sultanov, the Azerbaijan SSR First Deputy Minister of Justice A. A. Zul'fugarov, the ispolkom chairmen--N. A. Abbasov of the Ali-Bayramlin gorsoviet, V. I. Guseynov of Geokchayskiy raysoviet, and others participated in the agenda questions discussion. (Azerinform).

12404
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REGIONAL

LATVIAN PARTY AKTIV EXAMINES ROLE OF VETERANS

Aktiv Meets

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Nov 83 p 1

[Article (LatINFORM): "The Meeting of the Republic Party Aktiv"]

[Text] A meeting of the republic party aktiv, at which the question of the tasks of the republic party organization, which follow from the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, was held in Riga on 1 November.

Member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia A. E. Voss delivered the report.

First Secretary of the Liyepaya City Party Committee A. P. Klautsen; First Secretary of the Oktyabrskiy Rayon Party Committee of Riga Ya. E. Nesaule; First Secretary of the Daugavpilsskiy Rayon Party Committee P. B. Tsunskiy; Deputy Chairman of the Council of Party Veterans of Kirovskiy Rayon of Riga M. M. Krustynson, a CPSU member since 1912; Secretary of the Latvian Trade Unions Council A. P. Anchupans; Hero of Socialist Labor P. V. Sokolov, a mechanic of the Al'fa Production Association imeni 60-letiya SSSR and chairman of the Riga City Council of Tutors; First Secretary of the Central Committee of Komsomol of Latvia M. K. Rukmane; Chairman of the Riga City Soviet Executive Committee M. Ya. Dubra; and O. K. Lenev, general director of the Riga VEF Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin, took part in the discussion of the report.

In the adopted resolution it is noted that the meeting of the republic party aktiv utterly and completely supports the theses and conclusions, which are contained in the speech of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, and is placing them at the basis of the practical activity of the party organization of the republic.

The city and rayon party committees, primary party organizations, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments in the organizing and mass political work, which is aimed at the explanation of the role and

importance of the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, should devote the main attention to the mobilization of communists and all the working people for the unconditional accomplishment of the economic and political tasks, which were set forth in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, and at the fulfillment and exceeding of the plan assignments and socialist obligations of the current year and the 11th Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Special attention of the party, soviet and economic organs, trade union and Komsomol organizations and labor collectives was directed to the need to direct the main efforts at the accomplishment of one of the most important tasks which have been advanced in the reports and speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov--the increase and constant tightening up of discipline and order, the utmost increase of the output of each person at his workplace.

The importance of the maximum utilization of the experience and knowledge of veterans for the improvement of ideological, mass political work and the formation of the new, communist personality is emphasized.

The improvement of the work on the formation in each young person of class self-consciousness, great communist conviction, a sense of infinite devotion to the ideals of proletarian, socialist internationalism, the friendship and fraternity of the peoples of the USSR and irreconcilability toward bourgeois ideology is a task of paramount importance of party and Komsomol organizations and all veterans. Every veteran should become a tutor of young people!

The meeting of the republic party aktiv assured the CPSU Central Committee that the communists, by using extensively in the practice of socioeconomic construction the gold reserves of the experience of struggle and creation, which have been created by veterans, will henceforth direct the energy of the working masses toward the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan and toward seeing to it that the labor collectives of our republic would make a worthy contribution to the strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the socialist homeland.

I. A. Anderson, E. Ya. Aushkap, Ya. Ya. Vagris, R. O. Verro, V. I. Dmitriyev, A. E. Ikauniyek, S. I. Postnikov, Yu. Ya. Ruben, P. Ya. Strautmanis, V. A. Chemm, E. M. Ozols, B. K. Pugo and Ye. G. Kuznetsov, an instructor of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the work of the meeting of the party aktiv.

Voss Speech

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 2 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Report on speech of Member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia A. E. Voss at the meeting of the Latvian party aktiv in Riga on 1 November 1983 (LatINFORM)]

[Excerpts] Comrades! These days the working people of our country are preparing to celebrate festively the 66th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, A. E. Voss said. It is well known that Lenin's Peace Decree was the first legislative act of Great October. Peace was and remains

the ideal of socialism. All generations of Soviet people have been and are being educated in this spirit.

That is why the attention of the Soviet people and the entire world public is riveted on the Statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Yu. V. Andropov. The policy of our party and state of preventing the threat of nuclear war and strengthening universal peace is thoroughly and comprehensively expressed in this document of enormous political importance. A clear class analysis of the situation, which has formed in the world, and a principled appraisal of the militaristic policy, which the current U.S. Administration is pursuing, are contained in the Statement. A worthy rebuke of the gross lies and malicious attacks of President Reagan on the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community is given in it.

The statement of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov found a serious response in all corners of our republic. Numerous rallies and meetings were held in the labor collectives of the cities and rayons of the republic. The unanimous support of the CPSU policy, which is firm and steadfast in the Leninist way, of the assurance of the security and the protection of the vital interests of the Soviet people, their friends and allies, the preservation and securing of peace, detente and the curbing of the arms race was expressed at them with new force. Like all the Soviet people, the working people of Soviet Latvia angrily condemn the misanthropic policy of American imperialism and the anti-Soviet campaign in the NATO countries, and first of all in the United States. Together with all the Soviet people we express the adamant resolve to strengthen by our dedicated labor the economic and defensive might of our socialist homeland and constant willingness to defend the gains of socialism.

Now the immediate task is to link all the organizing and mass political work of party, trade union and Komsomol organizations most closely with the accomplishment of specific economic and political tasks, with the tightening up of discipline and organization in the interests of the further strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the Soviet Union.

The skillful combination of the political and labor experience of the older generation of Soviet people with the energy and initiative of young people, the speaker continued, is acquiring exceptionally great importance in all our work. Having emphasized that the Central Committee of our party, its Politburo and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov personally express a high opinion of the role and importance of veterans and are showing constant concern and attention with respect to them, A. E. Voss noted that the recent meeting of party veterans in the CPSU Central Committee was one of the most vivid confirmations of this respect and attention. It became a significant event in the life of the party and the country, which evoked a truly national heartfelt response and the unanimous approval of all the Soviet people.

At this meeting there was a frank discussion of what is worrying the party and the country today and of how to use most wisely the experience of veterans for our common cause. In the brilliant and moving speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov the essence of the succession of generations is thoroughly revealed in a

Leninist way, a high opinion of the activity of veterans is given, the tasks, which are connected with the use of their invaluable experience in the solution of specific problems of our times and in the fulfillment of the program instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the plans of the 11th Five-Year Plan, are clearly specified.

As in the CPSU Central Committee, the entire course of the meeting in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia clearly showed that our veterans are a worthy example of dedicated work, thorough party conviction and infinite loyalty to communist ideals.

A large army of party, war and labor veterans lives and works in our republic. About 2,000 communists with a length of party membership of 50 years and more are in the ranks of the republic party organization, which now unites nearly 170,000 people. Among them are communists of the Leninist Guards, the legendary Latvian Red Riflemen, Stakhanovites and shock workers of the first five-year plans. In the ranks of the corps of many thousands of veterans there are many participants in the Great Patriotic War and dedicated workers of the period of the postwar restoration and development of our national economy.

Public associations of veterans have become an effective organizational form of their enlistment in public political activity. Councils and sections of party, war and labor veterans are working in practically every city and rayon and in all large labor collectives.

The Riga, Daugavpils and Liyepaya City Party Committees are performing active and systematic work with the public associations of party, war and labor veterans. Abundant experience of the military patriotic and international education of student and working youth has been gained in these party organizations. Diverse forms of the use of the experience and knowledge of veterans are also being used in the party organizations of Daugavpilsskiy, Kraslavskiy, Ludzenskiy, Valmiyerskiy, Yekabpilsskiy and other rayons.

At the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans and in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov much attention was devoted to the successful accomplishment of specific tasks of our times, tasks which in many ways are new and are complicated in a new way, A. E. Voss further noted. These tasks follow from the materials of the November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums, which clarified the decisions of the 26th party congress with reference to the needs of the building of the economy and ideological work.

While showing concern about their accomplishment, the republic party organization is focusing its main efforts on the changeover of the economy to the path of intensive development. Reassuring national economic results have been achieved as a result of the consistent implementation of the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo on the determined tightening up of planning and labor discipline and on the all-round improvement of the economic mechanism and style of work in the republic. A recently published report of the Central Statistical Administration shows that the majority of sectors of our economy are working at the level of or with the exceeding of the five-year plans.

In industry in 9 months of this year various products worth 80 million rubles were sold in excess of the plan alone. In comparison with the same period of last year the volume of commodity production increased noticeably. It is important to note here that its entire increase was obtained just by the increase of labor productivity. The proportion of products of the highest quality category was increased. With respect to this indicator our republic holds leading positions in the country. Definite changes for the better have also emerged in construction, transportation and other sectors.

The state of affairs in agriculture has improved noticeably. In implementing the decisions of the May (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the republic party organizations have done considerable work here. And first of all on the intensification of animal husbandry, the development of the fodder base, the strengthening of livestock veterinary services, the improvement of breeding and the reinforcement of the most important sections with able, competent personnel. As a result the republic this year exceeded the plan of 9 months on the sale of meat, milk and eggs to the state and is coping successfully with the annual plans and socialist obligations on the purchases of all types of products of farming--grain, potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables, fruits and berries, flax, grass meal and hay.

The fact that our republic, like several others, was declared a winner of the All-Union Socialist Competition and was awarded the Honorary Diploma of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the Komsomol Central Committee for the successful wintering of livestock and the increase of the production and purchases of livestock products during the 1982/1983 winter period, is creating a sense of satisfaction. The All-Union Socialist Competition for the successful wintering of livestock and the increase of the production and purchases of livestock products is also being continued during the 1983/1984 winter period. And this means that party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic organs should direct the efforts of all the workers of the agro-industrial complex to the exemplary carrying out of the started wintering of livestock, the increase of their productivity and the unconditional fulfillment and exceeding of the plan assignments. Here everything should be subordinate to the efficient use of fodders, the assurance of the complete preservation of the livestock population and the increase everywhere of the production of milk and meat.

While giving full credit to the work which has been done, A. E. Voss said further, we cannot but admit, however, that not everything that it was necessary and possible to do, has yet been done in our republic. Unfortunately, many tasks, which were posed by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 23d Congress of the Communist Party of Latvia, remained unfulfilled. First of all the rate of the changeover of the economy to the path of intensive development cannot satisfy us. At a large number of enterprises the growth rate of labor productivity is still low, far from everything has been done on the tightening up of planning and labor discipline. A significant number of production collectives are disrupting the deliveries of products in accordance with contracts. Among them are enterprises of the ministries of the construction materials industry, the wood processing industry, light industry, the forestry and timber industry and several industrial enterprises of union subordination. The duty and direct obligation of the executives of ministries and departments, production associations

and enterprises, city and rayon party committees are to take exhaustive steps for the organization of the smooth work of all lagging labor collectives.

The work on the development of consumer goods production on the basis of the extensive use of modern equipment and technology needs serious improvement.

As before, there are many unsolved problems in construction. The mechanism of management and planning, the methods of management and the level of labor and executive discipline in construction still lag behind the present requirements. Many construction projects lack the efficient organization of labor, the efficient use of equipment and vehicles and a high quality of work. The appropriate ministries and departments need to eliminate more vigorously the obstacles which are hindering the highly productive work of our construction conveyor and to establish order here more responsibly.

In general, in fulfilling the instructions which were set forth in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, all the party organizations, soviet and economic organs and all the labor collectives are obliged to work actively in literally all sections of production and management and to strive persistently for the set goals. One must think seriously about the quickest possible elimination of the shortcomings and oversights and do everything necessary in order to make up for lost time as rapidly as possible.

In the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans the questions of ideology and the communist education of the working people took up much space. The tasks, which have been set in this area for the party organizations, are complicated and responsible, A. E. Voss stressed. They are specified by the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the theses and conclusions, which were set forth in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the plenum. You know that we held the plenum in order to discuss the tasks of the republic party organization on the further improvement of ideological and mass political work. Similar tasks were discussed at the plenums of the city and rayon party committees and at party meetings. Measures on the fulfillment of the decisions of the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum have been elaborated in all the units of the republic party organization.

The main thing now is to carry out persistently everything that has been outlined and to strive for the greater effectiveness of political educational work. The party organizations of the republic are obliged to resolutely overcome inertia and routine and to raise all our propaganda and agitation to the level of today's requirements. It is necessary to achieve everywhere such a situation so that ideological work would really become the business of every communist. All the first secretaries of the city and rayon party committees and all the sectorial departments of the party committees should systematically and purposefully engage in it. The CPSU Central Committee demands that their responsibility in the increase of the effectiveness of political educational influence on all categories of working people be increased sharply. The city and rayon party committees, trade union and Komsomol organizations must improve and perfect in every possible way the style of all types of training and must intensify the political, international and atheistic education of the people.

Today we are speaking more and more frequently about the ideological backing of economic work. But, as Comrade Yu. V. Andropov noted at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, the economic or, more broadly, the social backing of ideological work is of no less, if not greater importance. We will be able to increase the value of the word, to increase the effectiveness of the oral statements of our propagandists and lecturers, political information officers and agitators, all communists on the condition that we persistently introduce the efficient organization of labor and the placement of people, ensure punctual material and technical supply and improve the forms and means of moral and material stimulation.

In light of the requirements which follow from the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, attention must be directed to another important area of ideological work. It is a question of the further strengthening and the all-round development of the class self-consciousness of the working people and their education in the spirit of irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology. Here our veterans, whom we by right call people who are completely convinced of the permanent value of communist ideals and of the correctness of the path along with the party is proceeding, can and should give effective assistance to party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. Convinced that one must fight, and fight selflessly, for everything that is good, in what we believe and for what we are striving. The increasing confrontation of ideas is lending greater and greater importance to the formation among all our people of precisely a class approach to the assessment of facts and phenomena of social life. The party organizations and ideological institutions of the republic should expose the falsification of bourgeois ideologists and revisionists, convincingly promote and thoroughly reveal the great achievements and advantages of socialism, its moral and spiritual values. The city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations need to carry out by all forces and means the active well-reasoned criticism and exposure of imperialism as a system, of the incurable flaws and curses of what is called "the consumer society."

In recent years in the training and retraining of ideological workers we have begun to devote more attention to the study of Leninist principles, effective means and methods of combatting hostile ideology. The information of party, society and economic personnel and all the working people about urgent issues of the present has been improved. And still in this area, which is exceptionally important from the point of view of the class, patriotic education of our people, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and ideological institutions of the republic for the present are not working at full capacity. They lack systematization in work, persuasiveness and weight in reasoning and, what is most important, aggressiveness. It is necessary to become fully armed with Marxism-Leninism and to rely on the political and socioeconomic achievements of socialism, in order to expose the pseudoscientific ideology and to conduct along the entire front a determined offensive against the imperialist reaction.

In speaking about the improvement of ideological work, we have before us a complex, multilevel task, the accomplishment of which presumes active operations in all directions. And the party organizations should not lose sight of any of its components.

Every major problem, every major task requires a comprehensive solution, which takes into account the spiritual, material and organizational factors. Among such major tasks, which require a comprehensive solution, Comrade Yu. V. Andropov named in his speech the utmost and constant tightening up of socialist discipline. After the November (1982) CPSU Central Committee Plenum much was done in the republic for the establishment of order, discipline and good organization at the works. This yielded as a whole positive results in the development of production and in the increase of labor productivity.

But if we look at what was done from the standpoint of the great demands of the CPSU Central Committee and the instructions, which have been set forth in the reports and speeches of General Secretary of the Central Committee Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, it must be admitted that many unsolved problems, shortcomings and oversights all the same remained in this area.

The party committees must investigate thoroughly the causes of the existing shortcomings, increase the demandingness on soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs and economic managers and take effective steps on the tightening up of labor discipline. Greater specificity, pointedness and aggressiveness are required of all political educational work and of the means of mass information and propaganda.

We should organize everywhere a truly broad, genuinely national movement for good organization and discipline.

There is the need to stress separately that the work being performed on the tightening up of socialist labor discipline is not a short campaign, as some people believe, but purposeful and long-term work. It includes a set of measures of both an ideological and political educational nature and a legislative nature. This is one of our most fundamental, most important tasks, which is aimed directly at the fulfillment of the state plan assignments, the further increase of the well-being of the Soviet people and the strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the Soviet state.

Particular attention in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans was focused on the work with young people, the speaker continued. Having characterized in detail the group of questions connected with the further improvement of this work, A. E. Voss, in particular, emphasized that here the experience and knowledge of veterans are especially needed. Young people, who have not experienced the horrors of war, needs and deprivations, are now entering independent life. All the paths to the world of labor and knowledge have been opened before them, all the conditions for harmonious development have been created for them. But so that young people would be equal to the tasks which they have to accomplish, they should profit by the historical experience of the party, acquire, as V. I. Lenin said, lofty consciousness, the firmness of character, adherence to principles and a broad political outlook.

We note with great satisfaction and gratitude the contribution of veterans to the formation of an active civic position of the young generation. You will not find in the republic today a single collective of young people--be it at a school or kolkhoz, an enterprise or a higher educational institution--at which

party and labor veterans would not be frequent guests and active participants in measures concerning young people. They are always next to young people--when being admitted to the Pioneers and Komsomol, at Leninist lessons, political education classes, at museums and rooms of battle and labor glory, at common graves. In essence, each mass measure, which is implemented for young people, cannot do without an impassioned party speech of our fine veterans. In all this the living link of generations is manifested most vividly, the process of their succession is intensified. The party and Komsomol organizations need henceforth, taking into account the peculiarities of modern young people and the new conditions under which they live, to work more purposefully and constantly with them. To think about young people, to keep their problems constantly in the field of view and not to interrupt for a minute the lively dialogue of generations is one of the basis tasks of the party organizations and every communist.

Time is on the side of young people, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov said at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee. Thus it should be. It is important merely to be certain that people, who will in no way give up the banner of October and the ideals of Lenin, who know their job well and thoroughly, succeed us. The accomplishment of this basic task requires of us the further intensification of the ideological and political, military patriotic, international and labor education of young people. Our fine veterans should first of all apply their hands precisely here. They can and should form more actively among boys and girls class self-consciousness, great ideological conviction and irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology and educate them on the basis of the splendid international, revolutionary and labor traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, our heroic working class and the party organization of the republic.

Comrade Yu. V. Andropov posed the question as follows: every party veteran, every labor veteran should be a tutor of young people. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations together with veterans should ponder in what form this mission will be accomplished, how it is best to organize the matter. Today there are about 24,000 tutors in the labor collectives of the republic. This is a great force. But it is not being fully utilized. It is appropriate to recall this especially as the work with the young replacement is not at the proper level everywhere, in a number of instances it reeks of formalism.

It is not only honorable, but also difficult to be a tutor. Tutorship requires good occupational skill, great spiritual richness and the ability to find the key to the heart of a young person, to discover and develop his abilities. And they are acting correctly in those party organizations, in which they are helping tutors to acquire work experience with people and to acquire pedagogical skills. The party committees and trade union and Komsomol organizations should organize the training of tutors. For these purposes it is necessary to use more extensively the experience of the Riga City Party Committee, which is performing purposeful work in this direction.

It is necessary to broaden the participation of veterans who are tutors in all spheres of the communist education of young people, on all the fronts of our common struggle against dependence, labor and social passivity, laxity and a mercenary spirit, narrow-minded hoarding. In short it is necessary to work,

and to work constantly, without holidays, without leaves, with young people. It should also be remembered: work with young people and the enlistment of party, war and labor veterans in their education are one of the most important tasks of our political activity.

The ideological training, wisdom and experience of life of veterans should have a much greater influence on the improvement of party organizational work and the increase in the vitality of party organizations, A. E. Voss noted further. In Riga, Daugavpils and Liyepaya, as well as Valmierskiy, Yekabpilskiy and other rayons veteran communists are being enlisted in the preparation of plenums and meetings of the party aktiv and in the organization of the fulfillment of the adopted decisions. They are actively working in the commissions attached to the city and rayon party committees on admission to the CPSU and the examination of the personal files of communists. Veterans are worthily represented in all elective organs. For example, during the past reports and elections about 6,000 party and labor veterans were elected to the party committees and bureaus, more than 1,000 were elected secretaries of primary party organizations, nearly 800 people became members of the city and rayon party committees. It is necessary in the future as well to improve this work and to increase the active participation of veterans in all the party organizations in which they are registered, especially at housing administrations.

As was indicated in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, the trade unions and other public organizations should significantly improve the use of the experience and knowledge of veterans of the soviets of people's deputies. In our republic about 6,000 veterans have been elected to the soviets of people's deputies. They are widely represented in elective trade union organs. Some 2,500 veterans head the main groups of the People's Control, about 5,000 are members of the city and rayon People's Control Committees and their nonstaff departments. It is necessary for party veterans to be worthily represented among the new members of the city and rayon party committees, the soviets of people's deputies and other elective organs. Summarizing what has been said, I would like once again to recall to the executives of party, soviet and economic organs, trade union and Komsomol organizations the words of Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov that it is necessary to increase the role of veterans in all spheres and to fill with a new content the existing forms of their participation in economic and social life. Veterans can do an especially important service, as was noted at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee, wherever it is a question of the improvement of the human personality, wherever characters are formed. These are the schools of occupational skill, the system of political information, work with draftees and adolescents, as well as with the population at the place of residence, the people's universities, circles and groups of creative scientific and technical work. Finally, these are everyday work with young communists and the formation in them of Leninist character traits.

The need for the increase of the concern about party, war and labor veterans is especially emphasized in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andoprov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee. All party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, all soviet and economic organs, all our management personnel, every labor collective, literally every person should constantly remember this. They are obliged to keep in their field of view all questions connected with

veterans. Take if only such a question as the aspiration of many veterans, who have left for well-earned rest, to continue labor activity within their power. In the words of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, most favorable conditions should be created for this noble aspiration. Tact, attention and a considerate attitude toward the health of veterans and to their personal aspirations, in order to find for each one a job within his power and to his liking, play an enormous role here. In this connection it is necessary to increase the role of the republic State Committee for Labor and the job placement service which is subordinate to it. The ministries and departments should more vigorously create new shops and sections and expand the already operating ones and should create brigades of veterans, which would work a partial workday at enterprises. The city and rayon party committees and the primary party organizations are obliged to constantly show concern about the improvement of the social conditions and medical service of party and labor veterans and to do more for the organization of their relaxation. In short, we should do everything so that the simply human attention, the concern and respectfulness with respect to veterans, about which Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov spoke, would appear in our republic everywhere and in everything--whether it is a question of the labor contribution of veterans or their social activity, their requests and suggestions. This is a requirement of the party, and it must be fulfilled irreproachably.

The discussion at today's meeting of the party aktiv of our tasks, which follow from the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, the speaker emphasized, will undoubtedly help the republic party organization and all labor collectives to mobilize their forces and means more successfully for the accomplishment of the plans of the party and government and the assignments of the five-year plan.

The city and rayon party committees, party organizations, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organs, ministries and departments need to launch organizing and mass political work, which is aimed at the explanation of the role and importance of the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans in the sociopolitical life of the republic and at the unconditional implementation of all the instructions set forth in the speech of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov.

In conclusion A. E. Voss said:

Permit me, comrades, to assure the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov personally that the Latvian Party Organization will do everything necessary in order to honorably fulfill all the tasks posed at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with party veterans, so that henceforth the unity of all the generations of our party and people would grow stronger in the name of the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums, for the good and prosperity of our great multinational socialist homeland.

7807
CSO: 1800/166

REGIONAL

KAZAKH CP CC BUREAU MEETS, CRITICIZES MINISTRIES

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 15 Dec 83 p 1

Text At a regular session of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau there was consideration of the course of fulfillment of Central Committee decisions on the construction of projects destined for consumer goods production.

It was noted that the leaders of construction ministries and departments, ministries of light industry and local industry, and certain other branches of the republic economy are not taking requisite measures for an increase of production capacities for the production of consumer goods. Approved allocations for construction-installation work are not being assimilated fully in the light, local, and timber and wood processing industries and there are delays in putting projects under construction into operation.

The Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises KaSSR (A. V. Lomov) has reduced the tempos of construction-installation work. Construction of a spinning factory in the city of Tselinograd, sewing factory in Balkhash, the Kokchetav Porcelain Plant, and finishing factory of the Silk Fabrics Combine at Ust'-Kamenogorsk is being carried out unsatisfactorily. The Alma-Ata Main Administration for Construction (Yu. K. Krasikov) has not put into operation capacities at the Sewing Association imeni Gagarin and "Alma-Ata" Furniture Association this year and is conducting almost no work at all on the construction of a washing machines shop of the "Elektrobytprapor" Household Electrical Appliances Plant. The Ministry of Rural Construction KaSSR (K. N. Musin) is erecting projects of the local and wood processing industry slowly. Exhaustive measures for intensification of installation work on construction projects of the indicated branches have not been taken by the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work KaSSR (B. M. Yerzhanov). At many construction sites the level of organization of production is still low, deadlines are repeatedly not met, the supplying of essential materials and structures is not ensured, and the brigade contract and other advanced forms of labor organization are utilized poorly.

The Ministry of Light Industry (V. G. Ibragimov), Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry (M. A. Al'derbayev) and Ministry of Local Industry KaSSR (G. M. Murzagaliyev) frequently fail to observe requirements for timely, high-quality drafting of technical specifications, allocation of essential resources and opening of financing, and supplying of equipment, and are late in recruiting operational personnel for startup capacities, which impedes their activation considerably.

The Central Committee Bureau punished severely A. V. Lomov, minister of construction of heavy industry enterprises KaSSR, and V. G. Ibragimov, minister of light industry KaSSR, for unsatisfactory management of the construction of consumer goods projects and issued warnings to B. M. Yerzhanov, minister of

It was proposed that the republic ministries of construction of heavy industry enterprises, rural construction, and installation and special construction work and the Alma-Ata Main Administration for Construction intensify the rates of construction of projects earmarked for consumer goods production and put into operation all production capacities in conjunction with housing and cultural and consumer services projects within established time periods.

Republic ministries of light industry, the timber and wood processing industry, and local industry must improve the management of capital construction and take measures for the timely and complete mastery of the production capacities being put into operation.

The Central Committee Bureau considered the results of work of student construction detachments in the Kazakh SSR in 1983 and a number of other problems.

6264
CSO: 1830/169

REGIONAL

EDITORIAL URGES ENHANCEMENT OF RSFSR RURAL RAYON CENTERS

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Nov 83 p 1

[Editorial: "The Rayon Centers"]

[Excerpts] As is known, the task of comprehensively developing whole regions of the country, including the Russian non-chernozem areas, was advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress. Now it is being resolved everywhere, in every rayon and in every industry, which undoubtedly favors the successful fulfillment of the Food Program. Under these conditions the role of the rural center is growing immeasurably. There are great demands on the center as it is called upon not only to make arrangements, distribute material resources and assign various missions to the kolkhoz and sovkhoz. It also has to set an example of clear organization, of order and high efficiency by its own appearance and significance of daily reality and has to train and inspire the peasants. In other words, it has to facilitate the merging of ideological indoctrination and economic strengthening which the June CPSU Central Committee indicated was necessary.

However, the question will come up as to whether all the rayon centers, and especially the remote ones, fully meet the increased demands. Are they able to serve as examples for their smaller brothers, the small villages and agro-cities? Unfortunately not all can. It is no secret that one still finds run-down rayon centers with primitive industry and a poorly built base, suffering from a lack of roads and the absence of special training institutions, which logically would be better located not in large industrial cities but primarily on the periphery. The party, soviet and economic agencies now have the important problem of quickly achieving a situation where each rayon center theoretically gives the appearance of a compact, well-organized village tied to all populated areas by a reliable communications.

Where is the money coming from for this renovation? Earlier a significant part of the resources earmarked for upgrading the rural economy usually by-passed the rayon centers and went directly to the kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Now, with the creation of the agro-industrial amalgamates, the situation has begun to change. The RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Association] councils, acting as an independent planning and operating agency, can and must find the resources for social reconstruction. It is necessary only to be concerned

about their proper use, that the resources are spent only as prescribed, and are not uselessly invested as it often happens in construction of temporary country roads, erection of unnecessarily pretentious sculptured decorations or fountains that never work.

The activity by the leadership of the Apastovskiy Rayon of the Tatar ASSR is an example of the thoughtful resolution to a key problem. There they understood that it is impossible to endlessly allude to objective difficulties while their own efforts are used to tackle large affairs. The lack of good roads alone is not a misfortune, but the ones most guilty are those who set their hopes only on outside help. The party raykom and rayispolkom, after having established a specific program for rayon reorganization, charged each sector and all organizations using wheeled transportation, including the boenkomat [military registration and enlistment office] and post-office, with the responsibility of directly participating in organizing the rayon center and road works. The mission of uniting equipment in three mechanized lines and immediately to start linking up kolkhoz and sovkhoz to the rayon center from three sides was set. The plan was suitably met as 150 kilometers of internal roads with side roads to the brigades and farms was put into operation. It is now possible to construct several asphalt arteries.

A rayon center itself can get much done through its own efforts. All the same it needs concrete governmental support. It is possible to provide it by containing the excessive growth of cities of oblast and republic significance and by diverting resources to its use. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA wrote about this and readers agreeing with these arguments are developing the idea further. Resources are frequently located but they are used extremely foolishly.

It turns out that several theses and recommendations for earlier-adopted rayon planning schemes and projects require important revisions. At the present time new plans are being drawn up in the Russian Federation. All of the republic's rayon cities have modern general plans which unfortunately cannot be said about the rayon centers. In addition, of the 2,100 work settlements, a significant part of which are also rayon centers, only half have a general plan. When will the rest get them?

Much of the responsibility lies with oblispolkon [Regional Executive Committee] architectural departments and planning institutes which develop rayon plans. One must say that this work is still going slowly. And here is why. For example the Saratov Institute, Privilzhgiprose'khovstroy [Volga State Institute for Planning of Sovkhoz Construction], is doing jobs at once for the Mordovian ASSR and the Tambov and Saratov Oblasts. Obviously the needs of all rural rayons cannot be practically satisfied by the efforts of one organization. The same situation has also been found in other RSFSR regions. It is time to attract local institutions to the work, prompting initiative and at the same time raising the responsibility of architectural services of the autonomous republics, krays and oblasts. For example the Vladimir Oblast has acted in a business-like manner and one of its institutes organized a special department that has already provided several high quality plans.

A lot depends on the rayon architectural services. Nonetheless they are still weak and have no decisive authority. Often unqualified, little-trained specialists who are construction engineers at best, hold the architect posts in the rayons. During the compiling of the general plans local features are sometimes ignored and there is the desire to resolve city building tasks with a template, without considering spatial aspects and the environment such as woods, rivers and fields. And this must be considered, especially when building a rayon center, which is the facade or the face of the entire rayon. Strictly speaking, the quality design solutions will determine how the rayon centers will look in ten or fifteen years. Therefore the party committees and agencies of Soviet power must seriously look after the selection of the rayon architect cadre.

In order not to allow errors in the planning scheme, local soviets are making it a rule more and more to involve the community at-large in discussing the general plan. Thus in the Bakalinskiy Rayon of Bashkir ASSR they are conducting local gatherings with this in mind. Here imminent questions from social reconstruction to renovating intra-rayon roads and providing reliable telephone service are decided together with the inhabitants. By the way, telephones are of urgent concern today to rural communication workers. Telephone density of local nets in the RSFSR is still small. In the 11th Five-Year Plan the number of small towns and rayon centers that will have automatic inter-city telephone lines must reach 75 percent of their total number. Any line is a sensitive nerve for industrial and human inter-relationship. The closer and more reliably the rayon centers are joined with the rural population points through all types of communications, the more vital life will become and the more noticeable economic and cultural successes will be.

At the on-going party reporting electoral meetings and conferences these days many communists are rightfully asking about the necessity for primary solutions to the urgent problems of rayon centers. This task is complicated and multifaceted. It requires a complex approach by party committees, soviets and agricultural agencies, and the entire community.

12511
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REGIONAL

REPUBLIC SEMINAR ON MATERIAL-TECHNICAL SUPPLY, MANAGEMENT MECHANISM

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 4 Dec 83 p 2

[Editorial: "To Improve Material-Technical Supply," Azerbaijan Information Service]

[Text] The paths to further improving the material-technical supply of the republic's national economy in light of decisions by the 26th CPSU Congress, the November (1982) and the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the 30th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress were discussed at a republic seminar held in Baku. Leaders of ministries, departments, associations and enterprises, responsible workers of agencies and services of material-technical supply and economists took part.

Second Secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee V.N. Konovalov gave the opening address.

Chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Economic Department Z.A. Samed-zade and Chairman of the Republic Gossnab R. A. Guseynov made speeches.

As was noted at the seminar, agencies and services of material-technical supply have an important role in successfully realizing the broad program of the country's socio-economic development outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. The rhythm of work in industrial collectives and their work effectiveness and production quality depend on the level of supply organization and the degree of material provision in the enterprises and organizations.

In the republic positive progress has been noted recently in an important link of the economic mechanism. The responsibility of the Gosplan and Gossnab for balancing volumes of supply and demand and the rational distribution of material resources has increased. Cooperative ties among interacting enterprises have become more reliable, control over the observance of contractual obligations has increased, measures for lowering raw material expenditures have become more actively applied and supply is taking actual production demand even more into account. Progressive supply forms and methods are widely disseminated. Thus today 74 republic enterprises and organizations are in a guaranteed supply complex and 306 are being transferred

to direct, long-term economic ties in the 11th Five-Year Plan. A system of material resources centralized distribution and special apportionment for territorial-production complexes, construction and start-up facilities having important national economic significance have been further developed.

At the same time the fact that not all reserves are involved yet in the work of raising supply system effectiveness was stressed at the seminar. Delivery systems are not meeting contemporary economic demands and the process of forming material funds is not always sufficiently carefully organized. At times the time period for registering documentation and demands to suppliers drags out intolerably. The level of development for all supply norm bases is lagging. At times enterprises use over-estimated expenditure norms which create artificial shortages and the possibility of fictitious material resource savings. Measures for curtailing superfluous supplies in enterprises and organizations are insufficient. In this regard, the system of material resource management needs improving and one of the central issues has become creating a scientifically grounded normative planning base.

The ability of departmental supply-market organizations to function to a large degree depends on the effectiveness of work organization in the republic's Gosplan, and there are essential deficiencies in this area.

Seminar participants heard speeches by Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Gosplan Z.A. Tagiyev, chiefs of USSR Gosplan sectors M.D. Zakora and V.F. Furashov, First Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Gossnab S. A. Rzayev and others. Their speeches were devoted to problems of planning and rational use of material resources, improving use of secondary resources in the national economy and developing progressive forms of supply, strengthening discipline in suppliers and others. The necessity of exploiting and realizing supplemental measures toward unconditionally fulfilling the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in strengthening supplier discipline received primary attention.

Corresponding recommendations were developed at the seminar.

The Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the republic Gosplan A. N. Mutalibov took part in the seminar.

12511
CSO: 1830/175

REGIONAL

LITHUANIAN PRIEST S. TAMKEVICIUS TRIED FOR ANTISTATE ACTIVITIES

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 3 Dec 83 p3

[Article by S. Motskuvene: "From the Courtroom": "A Rosary in His Hands, Poison on His Lips"]

[Text] In May of this year, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court convicted former priest of the Vidukle parish in Raseiniai Rayon, Al'fonsas Svarinskas for antisoviet activities.

The materials in the case of A. Svarinskas showed that there is sound basis to consider Father S. Tamkevicius an accessory in his criminal activity as well; therefore, he was arrested and criminal proceedings were instituted against him also.

True, Father S. Tamkevicius did not cooperate with bourgeois nationalists in the past; he did not praise them for their bloody "victories"; he did not hide the bandits' weapons in an underground cache in the church, as did for example this very A. Svarinskas: At that time the former was still a student in the Seyriay secondary school.

After graduating from theological seminary in 1962, Tamkevicius served in various parishes.

S. Tamkevicius' negative attitude toward the Soviet system, to our way of life, appeared rather early, when he was still working as a vicar in the parishes of Alitus, Lazdiyay, Kudirkos-Naumestis, Prenay and Vilkavishkis. Those who came to worship would not hear sermons from the pulpit, but appeals--not to recognize the authority of the chairman of the Aparinkovo Soviet; or to talk back to keepers of the public order; or to put their signatures to some kind of slanderous concoction. As everyone knows, such "activity" does not fall under the responsibilities of a clergyman; therefore, the local authorities repeatedly warned S. Tamkevicius. But he didn't quiet down, and in 1969 he was deprived of his certificate of registration as a priest, for behaviour incompatible with that of a clergyman. Nevertheless, having once again received such a document, S. Tamkevicius did not change the nature of his activities.

The people have a saying: "Svoy svoyaka vidit izdaleka" [Birds of a feather flock together]. S. Tamkevicius merged his antisoviet interests with those of his former ally A. Svarinskas, and it was not by chance that their activities were for a long time of the same criminal nature.

The organs of justice, on the basis of testimony from witnesses, expert opinions and other documents established that it was entirely clear that S. Tamkevicius had been engaged in unlawful activities for many years: that he tried in every way to besmirch the Soviet state; that he prepared and distributed "documents" whose content was slanderous; and that he blatantly ignored Soviet laws.

But what was the specific nature of such activity?

Both during the preliminary investigation and the judicial process S. Tamkevicius continuously maintained: "I am interested solely in church matters; political matters are foreign to me". But if this had truly been so, Father S. Tamkevicius would not have found himself in the prisoner's dock. Hundreds of Lithuanian clergymen are performing their duties without hindrance; however, the activities of S. Tamkevicius were of a completely different nature. Hiding behind the dignity of his priestly office, he consciously and decisively spoke out and acted against the state system.

Thus, let us return to the halls of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court and listen to what was said in the prosecutor's decision.

Sigitas Tamkevicius, who is a priest, continuously violated Soviet laws. Knowing full well that religious rites may be performed only in houses of prayer, he continuously incited the believers not to obey this requirement. Since 1971 he was given 12 warnings for organizing various processions, for giving lessons to groups of children, for writing statements of a slanderous nature and collecting signatures on them in the church, and for other measures not connected with religious rites.

On 29 August 1979 the Lithuanian SSR public prosecutor officially warned S. Tamkevicius of this.

Local authorities displayed great patience and restraint, and tolerated the provocative activities of the insolent priest for a long time. The materials assembled in the court case confirm that S. Tamkevicius was proud of his antisocial affairs. In his sermons he would tauntingly relate to the believers what had been said to him by the officials, how they had punished him for violating the public order.

"What does any 50 rubles mean to me?" he jeered from the pulpit: "In three days the believers sent me 500 rubles!"

What can one say? It's easy to throw money around from someone else's pockets. It's nice to be a hero in the eyes of naive people...

For more than ten years Father S. Tamkevicius had used his pulpit as a rostrum for antisoviet propaganda. Testimony from witnesses has established that in Kibartay, Sidabravskiy, Al'ksnenskiy and other churches he delivered sermons before large groups of believers, asserting that the Soviet state persecutes people for their faith and belittles young people and students who are believers, and slandered the policy of our state with respect to the church.

As far back as 1973 S. Tamkevicius asserted that during the occupation Hitler's troops did less harm to the Lithuanian people than the "Soviets", who, he says "undermine" one's faith.

In one of his sermons in the church at Simnas the priest attempted to prove that the school and the press are spreading lies and deceit.

In the church at Shlavantay he called upon parents not to permit their children to join the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations, instructed them not to listen to the teachers, and not to permit the children to go on excursions on Sundays but to force them to go to church.

In the church at Al'vit S. Tamkevicius went as far as to say that lies and religious persecution allegedly are the rule in our state. Praising to the skies prewar, that is bourgeois, Lithuania, he asserted that in those days no one used alcoholic beverages, and did not commit any crimes. And that is because the church "restrained" people from these evils.

These are only a few excerpts from the long list of slanderous harangues of S. Tamkevicius.

Father S. Tamkevicius knows full well that one gains very little, and moves few people to pity through openly speaking out against Soviet authority. His parishioners are unsophisticated country people; however they remember well what their life was like, what kind of shoes they used to wear, what they used to eat, and what was the lot of the children in bourgeois Lithuania. Now they live in bright houses; they work and the children go to school, and they no longer have any concern about what to eat. Soviet power gave all of this to them and to their children. And here S. Tamkevicius was trying to prove through lies and various insinuations that Soviet power is not "suitable". The sermons directed against the Soviet Union were disguised in discourse on the dangers of godlessness.

How are the believers to react to such sermons by the priest? Are such instructions from the priest really in accordance with the law, with the interests of our society?

On what is the priest basing his continuous comparisons of the years of Nazi occupation with life in our time? What is he trying to achieve by persuading the young people not to go to school? What does he have in mind when he threatens that "The people will become aroused if the believers realize how they're being 'harmed'".

When S. Tamkevicius was asked to explain in detail how one should understand such "slogans", he stated: "It's possible that someone among the audience might form the opinion that I'm defending the capitalist system. But I'm not responsible for the way in which someone interprets what I say".

That's a lie! When he takes to the pulpit Father S. Tamkevicius knows full well what he'll say and how he'll say it. During the judicial process he affirmed that he delivers his sermons in a deliberate manner, having prepared himself for them in advance. He knows perfectly well what he's saying and why he's saying it. After all, he's had not only a lot of experience but also far-reaching plans. It's no accident that the sermons of S. Tamkevicius frequently concluded with complaints that, he says, he'll have to answer for such talk. The fact of the matter is, that the words "faith" and "church" were merely rhetorical decorations in the sermons of the accused, an effort to raise doubts among the people, to delude them. And the essence is, as he says, we do not need Soviet power, which took away the church's political power, which does not permit priests to own land, which does not pay them a large salary, and does not permit them to rule over the spiritual life of society. S. Tamkevicius and his friends do not need schools and houses of culture; they don't need newspapers and television; books and the theatre are dangerous for them; they are not in step with Soviet culture.

The Soviet people realize that we still have certain shortcomings and difficulties. We do not hide them and we speak openly of them. The drunkard, the parasite or the profiteer or swindler are subject to severe condemnation in the collective and are publicly criticized in the press. S. Tamkevicius, finding such events in the newspaper, takes to his pulpit and presents it as if it was his own discovery, attempting to prove that it is allegedly characteristic for our society.

The Soviet state has taken from the priests the tried and true weapon of the clerics--the division of society into believers and unbelievers. In our country everyone is equal before the law, both believers and atheists. Respect for people; honors for labor; the right to learning, medical care and other social privileges have always concerned and still concern everyone equally. With us, people of all faiths and nationalities are judged only with respect to whether they are honest, conscientious and industrious. These human qualities are taught to the people in our schools, families, and working collectives; they are rooted in our literature and our art. Our state will never permit all sorts of Svarinkas's or Tamkevicius' to terrorize the people who carry out ideological and educational work, who do not agree with their ideology and their views.

Therefore it was not by chance that the chairman of the court asked the priest what he had in mind when he delivered a sermon in the church at Tseykinyay; and how one should understand his assertion that the state is trying to deal roughly with the church? It goes without saying that the accused has no proof. Therefore, he has only one recourse--to hypocritically assert that people who have heard his sermons could actually evaluate them according to their own views.

When the pulpit became too "tight" for the unbridled intriguer and his confederates, he, together with A. Svarinskas and others, with no authorization whatsoever, decided to unite in the so-called "Catholic Committee for Defending the Rights of the Believers". There is an abundance of official material in testimony on what, from whom and how they "defended" the believers, the essence of which is as follows: In the Fall of 1978, the members of this self-proclaimed "committee" set off for Moscow to Gleb Yakunin's, where a "press conference" was staged. here the so-called "committee" officially represented itself abroad and gave the foreign correspondents a number of "documents" which S. Tamkevicius also signed. These documents were as alike in their contents as two drops of water. Their authors wept copiously over the fact that, as they say, in Lithuania believers and priests are persecuted and the young believers are subjected to discrimination. The composers of the "documents" utilized the slanderous inventions of certain renegades who maintain contacts with foreigners with a hostile orientation toward the USSR, through whom they distribute their creative works. The content of these "documents" differed little from the essence of the above-mentioned sermons by S. Tamkevicius. Upon examining them in more detail, one becomes convinced that Father S. Tamkevicius had taken random events from his local parish, had first tendentiously worked them over, and then divulged them in his sermons. And then, after "editing" that same event in the direction he needed, introduced it into his "document" and commented: "We would like to stress that the previously-mentioned events of discrimination were not the random attacks of godless teachers and representatives from the authorities, but represent a purposeful struggle... This struggle is inspired and supervised by the Ministry of Education and the party organs".

And there is still another source for the "events" which S. Tamkevicius used in composing his "documents". These were incidents which they themselves provoked. When in 1979 the republic prosecutor publicly issued a warning to him for antisoviet activity, the priest utilized this for a new antisoviet attack: He wrote and distributed a so-called "open letter" to the Lithuanian SSR public prosecutor. It would seem that the addressee was close by, that his address was well-known. Alas, S. Tamkevicius distributed his open letter among a wide circle of people. In it the priest accused our system of the very same thing--of persecution of the church and the believers; and of tolerating various negative phenomena. This letter also found its way abroad and was printed in the illegally-published "Chronicle of the Catholic Church". Later, reactionary foreign "flowery orators" savoured it in their press and on radio.

In the "documents", which are distributed by various ways and among various addresses, the "committee" weeps an ocean of tears for the young people and children of Soviet Lithuania. Those who have never been to postwar Lithuania, who abandoned its littered farm hand's shacks, when reading these documents do not realize that in today's Lithuania there are splendid kindergartens and nurseries on every farm, not to mention the cities; that all Soviet children go to school well-fed and well-dressed; that they rest and are treated in sanatoria; that they spend their school holidays in pioneer

camps, and go on excursions. And how does S. Tamkevicius illuminate the condition of the children in Lithuania in his concoction? "At the present time", he writes, "For the most part believing children and young people are subjected to discrimination in Lithuania. On 18 April 1983 the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Believers appealed to UNESCO, and set forth the methods of discrimination against the children: forcing them into atheistic behavior, to join atheist organizations; forbidding them to attend religious rites; punishing them for religious practices and other things".

One wonders what the authors of the "document" had in mind when they spoke of "atheistic behavior"? One can, as everyone knows, behave well or badly, but not "atheistically" or "religiously". But according to Tamkevicius, everything not in the power of the church and the hypocrites--is bad.

S. Tamkevicius indicated to the judicial organs that this "document" was addressed only to UNESCO. How then did it fall into the hands of the employees at the Vatican, "Voice of America", and "Liberty" radio stations? Incidentally, the authors of the letter received no reply whatever from UNESCO.

S. Tamkevicius was asked at the preliminary hearing: "Do you know the address of UNESCO?" "I do not", he replied.

It would have been naiive to expect another answer. The ultimate target of the "documents" addressed to the Pope, to presidents, prime ministers and international organizations was the centers of slanderous propaganda abroad, who wait impatiently for as much "news" as possible such as this from Soviet Lithuania. The Lithuanian renegades revel in the imaginary "suffering" of the Lithuanian people. The authors of the "documents", who thirst for fame, receive no less satisfaction from them.

It goes without saying that if one holds forth from the pulpit on how good it is in heaven and how bad in hell, one not only does not become famous, one also loses ones flock. Therefore, following the example of his foreign colleagues, who have begun to arrange concerts of jazz music and dances in the temples of God, S. Tamkevicius also thought to carry on such activities. At the end of last year he declared during a sermon that he would set up a Christmas tree in the courtyard of the cathedral, called upon the parents to bring their children, and brought in several more priests to help him. Since there had never been such a thing in Kibartay before, the people were amazed: A Christmas tree in the church courtyard?

"What purpose were you trying to achieve, preparing this activity?", the accused was asked.

"I wanted to introduce some variety into the religious rites", explained S. Tamkevicius.

What did this activity have to do with religion and with its rites? Not a thing. Father S. Tamkevicius organized it in order to have an opportunity to once again publicly ridicule certain shortcomings of a local nature, and

using them, incite the congregation against the state system, to mock the employes of the school system. Clergymen with microphones in their hands were dashing about among the believers and making provocative remarks. Was this really not premeditated incitement of the people against state institutions, against the national system of education?

Moreover, some time later S. Tamkevicius described these, his own activities in the "chronicle", and from here it fell into the hands of the slanderers abroad.

As was already mentioned, S. Tamkevicius affirmed that he is not interested in politics, as if to him "It is all the same what kind of system exists, socialist or capitalist". However, his deeds and his plans say otherwise. During the search of his apartment a manuscript of a "long range" plan was found in which guidelines for antisoviet activity were planned for an entire 20-year period. It also contained a point which stressed the significance of organized activity and use of the "chronicle" to publicize this activity. Therefore it is not by accident that the so-called committee and S. Tamkevicius personally widely utilized the services of this pseudo publication. Moreover, they recruited and organized assistants for publishing and distributing it. True, during the judicial process, S. Tamkevicius tried to make it appear as if he had nothing to do with the "chronicle". However, it was a proven fact.

What is this "chronicle", and what are the goals and missions of its publishers? This is first of all a malicious, slanderous publication, intended for foreign centers of antisoviet propaganda. In the concoctions published in it they give a distorted picture of life in Soviet Lithuania, they praise to the skies criminals who have been punished for dangerous activities by the organs of justice. This publication is allegedly intended for protecting the rights of the believers; however, it publishes baldfaced lies: teachers and responsible officials are insulted, and Soviet institutions are covered with filth. Here, as in the sermons of S. Tamkevicius, as well as the "documents" of the so-called committee, special attention is given to the "oppressed" young people.

Here are several samples from this publication: "Shaukenay. Al'vidas Rakauskas, a student at the Shaukenay secondary school, completed the 10th grade with nothing but fives. The director of the school wanted to give this student a diploma with honors; however, the teacher's council decided that Rakauskas' conduct could be graded only 'satisfactory', for he attended church services".

Stefaniya Spudayte, Rakauskas' class leader, made these comments on the report in court: "In the first trimester, Rakauskas' mark for conduct was indeed lowered. His mark for conduct, as well as that of certain other students, was lowered because they did not take part in school activities".

"Rakauskas completed the 11th grade with exemplary conduct".

As we see, not only Rakauskas, but also unbelieving students were punished for violating school discipline.

The "chronicle" disseminated many "facts" such as this. For example, it reported that a sixth-grade student at the Iosvaynyay secondary school, Genute Brigitte, had her grade lowered for behavior, for taking part in the church choir.

G. Brigitte appeared in court as a witness. She convincingly and categorically refuted this fabrication.

Here is some more "information" from Shaukenay, published in the "chronicle": "In Shaukenay, veterinary surgeon Pyatras Lesis was given a funeral. He was a believer; before he died he received Communion, and wanted to be buried according to the rites of the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, Veronika Lesene, frightened by threats of the godless officials, arranged for a funeral without the rites of the church. The brother of the deceased, Father A. Lesis, delivered a moving sermon at the grave, in which he enraptured the mourners. Only the godless officials were dissatisfied. Among them was atheist Irena Rakauskene from the Shaukenay middle school. The people rejoiced after hearing the words of Father A. Lesis..."

But what does the wife of the deceased have to say about this?

"I lived with my husband 26 years. When he was young my husband was a religious person; however, he stopped believing in God and hadn't been to church for 20 years. When my husband became very ill, his brother started to call and demand that I bury the dying man with religious rites. Since my husband was not a believer, and brought up his children in the very same way, I refused to have such a funeral. When my husband died, the priest, seeing that he had not received last rites, went to the pastor of the Shaukenay chapel and stayed there for two nights.

"Having brought my husband to the cemetery, we noticed that Father A. Lesis was at the grave, and had begun to preach. My son asked him to hurry up and finish the sermon, in which he insulted the convictions and the feelings of those gathered there. The people were indignant. No one had forced me to arrange a funeral without religious rites; I did that according to my own convictions as well as those of the children. The children are grown; they work and go to school.

"My husband died suddenly, and nothing was said about receiving Communion."

And so these are the "facts" if one can put it that way, with which the workers at the "chronicle" are shaking the world.

Citing still another report from the "chronicle", Vatican Radio and certain other foreign publications as well shed copious tears over the fact that the "'godless ones' in Lithuania had destroyed a cross which had been set up before the Second World War; that they are destroying roadside shrines of historical and religious value; no one calls them to order, instead they are encouraged to do this, and they do not react to the believers' complaints."

But this is how it was. In the Kaunas Rayon, on the Petrashyunay-Palemonas road near Amalyay there stood an old wooden cross. While they were laying heating pipes, it became necessary to move the cross.

This "tragedy" of international magnitude took place near Amalyay. Here's how the event was puffed up, as if it had outraged all the believers in Lithuania.

Everyone's home-believers' and unbelievers' alike--has been furnished with electricity and gas; roads were built and telephone cables were run to the farm centers. And in the process of laying the gas pipelines, of land reclamation, it was necessary to give up not only these moss-covered crosses, but also whole settlements and valuable buildings. This fuss over an old cross is nothing other than premeditated incitement of the believers, the malicious action of extremist-oriented clerics.

Incidentally, not only the inhabitants of our republic, but guests from abroad as well, know full well that roadside crosses and chapels which do not impede transportation, still stand today. And those which are of historical and artistic value are preserved in museums. They can be admired by everyone as works of native artistry.

And these are the kind of "facts" which the chronical uses to feed Vatican Radio and all sorts of publications, and slanderous voices on the airwaves across the sea. From such libels the renegade Lithuanians living abroad draw the conclusions they want to hear about our republic, and spread lies about life in Soviet Lithuania.

Other publications of the "chronicles" are of a similar nature. Their goal is clear. Across the seas no one is concerned over whether they reflect the true situation or not. On the contrary, the blacker the events, the more pleasant it is to comment on them, denigrating the Soviet state in the international arena.

Everyone remembers well the case which was tried some time ago of the two criminals who had murdered the priests; and everyone remembers how severe the sentence of the court was. But the "chronicles" and then certain other "voices" across the seas represented this event as if it was a deliberate

reprisal by atheists against the Catholic clergy. Therefore, they say, the organs of justice "do not want to sentence the sadistic killers, and will not be able to find a statute in the Criminal Code to punish them", affirmed the "chronicles".

But perhaps the publishers of the "chronicles" apologized later on for this gross insult. Nothing of the sort. They did not even inform their readers of the sentence of the Soviet court.

In court, S. Tamkevicius stated that he respects the "chronicles", that he sees nothing in it that is fabricated or exaggerated.

"What could you say about the "chronicle" now, having heard evidence from numerous witnesses of the slander published in it?" asked the prosecutor.

The accused did not reply.

The foreign "voices" who have been "fed" for many years by S. Tamkevicius, now assert that the priest is being tried for his faith, for the cause of the church, and that he stands before the authorities guiltless. And yet, forgetting about this, they are proclaiming him a fighter who is in disagreement with the laws of the state. Evidently they know what they are talking about. And they are paying well for this struggle. Last year an elderly woman arrived in Lithuania from the USA for a visit. In Vilnius she paid cash for five passenger cars--for S. Tamkevicius and four of his friends. What for? As everyone knows, the wheeler-dealers from across the seas don't spread these little presents around for nothing. In other words she brought over someone's wages. In other words, the generous functionaries from across the seas opened their purses wide for their correspondents.

And so S. Tamkevicius worked, and did not count on being rewarded in heaven. His long years of antistate activities, as we see, were merely hidden behind his beads. But he took up a cudgel against the Soviet system, against the Soviet people.

The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, after examining the materials of the case, and after listening to the evidence of the witnesses, declared that S. Tamkevicius is guilty in accordance with Part One, Article 68, of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code (Antisoviet Agitation and Propaganda) and sentenced him to a period of six years imprisonment and four years exile.

9006
CSO: 1800/186

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN WRITERS LAG IN PRODUCING NEW LITERARY WORKS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINIAN in Russian 16 Nov 83 p 3

[Article (RATAU): "The Word Is a Fighter, the Word Is an Educator"]

[Text] The Fourth Plenum of the Ukrainian Writers' Union Board, which convened in Kiev on 15 November, was dedicated to improving the role of creative literature in the communist education of workers in the light of decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Pavlo Zagrebel'nyy, first secretary of the union's board, began the plenum with an opening address.

"The republic's men of letters," noted speaker Lyubomir Dmiterko, secretary of the Republic Writers' Union Board, and other speakers, "are working along main lines of the plans of the 26th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums with awareness of their direct relationship to all that happens in our society. They are participating actively in the communist education of workers by means of the artistic word and trying constantly to enrich the spiritual world of the Soviet people by works of high ideological and esthetic level, full of deep thoughts, sharp conflicts and large-scale problems. The best of their written works have received broad recognition."

The speakers emphasized that the words of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum about the responsibility of art workers for seeing to it that the powerful weapon in their hands serves the purposes of the people, the purposes of communism, must enter firmly into the consciousness of each of us. Readers expect of writers new, deeply ideological, highly artistic novels, narratives, poems and plays, with convincing images of working people--the creators of material and spiritual values, innovators and pathfinders, who strengthen the might of the state from day to day. However, few works signifying new artistic discoveries or a step forward in the growth of Soviet literature have yet been created by the republic's men of letters.

Discussing the immediate tasks of writers, participants of the plenum stressed the necessity for writers to affirm, by their creative work, the Soviet style of life, the beauty and the greatness of the hero of our time. In working out contemporary themes they should be guided by demands of the party to the effect that timeliness of a theme not be used as an excuse for dullness and unrefinedness in the artistic level of a work. It is necessary to know life

and its most pressing problems thoroughly and to reflect them on the pages of their books.

During the most desperate battle of two worlds, two systems, said the speakers, a clear-cut stand of the writer as a citizen acquires special significance. In giving decisive refutation to ideological enemies, the masters of words must show clearly the high moral criteria inherent in our society, the patriotic consciousness of labor collectives and private citizens, and the Leninist standards of conduct in occupational fields, social life and private life.

12319
CSO: 1800/188

REGIONAL

ALL-UNION SEMINAR ON RUSSIAN LANGUAGE HELD IN BAKU

Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 8 Dec 83 p 2

[Editorial: "They Are Discussing Important Issues," Azerbaijan Information Service]

[Text] A major factor in the further economic and cultural development of our multinational state and for strengthened friendship and international solidarity of the people of the USSR is the Russian language which has firmly entered the lives of the Soviet peoples. A resolution by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on "Supplemental Measures on Improving the Study of the Russian Language in General Education Schools and Other Educational Institution in the Union Republics" notes that complete mastery of Russian along with his native language is an objective necessity and requirement for every citizen and serves the further rapprochement of all nations and peoples, their communication and spiritual value of their domestic and world culture and the achievements of scientific-technical progress.

In this regard, improving the teaching of Russian in national schools and the use in this process of the latest technological means is gaining much significance. These issues are being discussed at the All-Union Seminar-meeting "The Role of the Study and Technological Study Equipment In Improving Russian Language Instruction in National Schools" which began work on 6 December in Baku. Scientists, methodologists and instructors of Russian language and literature in national schools are participating in it.

The Deputy Minister of Education for the Azerbaijan SSR, A. P. Efendiayev gave the opening address at the seminar-meeting.

12511
CSO: 1830/175

REGIONAL

UKRAINIAN VARIETY MUSIC CRITICIZED FOR ALIEN INFLUENCES, TRENDS

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 20 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by V. Kuzyk, candidate of art criticism, member of the USSR Union of Composers: "What Kind of Music Should Be Performed?"]

[Text] Because of their accessibility, popular music and the song are today the favorites of many. For this reason, its achievements and blunders are discussed not only by specialists, but also by a wide audience of admirers of popular music. The goal of these discussions is one and the same--Soviet popular music, including Ukrainian variety music as well, must occupy a worthy place in the contemporary cultural process and be an effective form of aesthetic and patriotic education of our people, especially of the young generation.

In the republic there are composers who are creating interesting contemporary works. These include I. Poklad, V. Filippenko, V. Il'in, I. Karabits, N. Stetsyun, B. Yanovskiy, the amateur authors V. Bystryakov and L. Dutkovskiy. Favorites among the people are also the songs of the composers of the older generation, the acknowledged masters of the genre--P. Mayborody, I. Shamo, and A. Bilasha. There are singers who are popular in the country--the People's Artists of the Ukraine S. Rotaru and Yu. Bogatikov, the Honored Artists of the Ukraine N. Gnatyuk, T. Kochergina, V. Zinkevich, N. Yaremuk, the trio Marenich, and others. In the republic there are more than 80 vocal-instrumental ensembles and groups, some ("Kobza", "Smerichka", "Chervona ruta", "Vodogray", "Svityaz'", and "Berkut") have received the title of laureates and recipients of diplomas of contests.

And all the same. . . Not everything is as satisfactory as one would wish. To begin with, let us clarify what the popular song must be, what it needs. First of all, a talented poetic and musical basis. Secondly, talented performers. Thirdly, the interest of the performers in the propaganda of the song. Only if these three conditions are observed, can the Ukrainian variety song gain wide recognition.

In pursuit of a new stylistic method--rhythmic, melodic, and colorful--the authors not infrequently overlook both depth of content and high artistic value. And the result--the oblivion of the best national and patriotic traditions. This partly explains the fact that entertaining dance music pre-

vails in the programs of many variety collectives. And the words of the songs frequently are not of very high quality.

The new fashionable rhythms attract the composers, especially the amateurs. Under the fashionable pattern of the music of the groups Abba, Bonnie-M, Space, and Matiabazar, they are beginning to style the folk melody or to create their own "masterpiece", not realizing that they are implanting what is alien and foreign, what destroys the national sources.

To write one's own song or to present a folk melody "in one's own" arrangement has become a point of honor of the director or participant of an ensemble. And they write. And they arrange--each does what he can. About 150 songs a year, a countless number of arrangements.

The growing activity of non-professional authors, whose artistic taste fails them quite frequently, attracts the thoughtless copying of Western models, distorting the popular song. And those rare successes which occur among amateur authors do not brighten up the general picture. Moreover, an unhealthy competition is kindled between the professional and amateur authors, which does not help the general cause. It seems that it is necessary to attract talented amateur authors and music lovers to work in the creative sections of the Union of Composers, to conduct seminars, even if only once every 6 months.

I am taking this line because there is much which unites amateurs and professionals. In creating music for the stage, the same composer-professional begins from an amateur approach (possibly one which is based on a higher level of musical erudition). Why from an amateur approach? Because the knowledge of the development of the song form obtained in the conservatory does not orient him to the specific character of the variety song. As far as the orchestration of music for a vocal-instrumental ensemble, an electronic group or a variety orchestra is concerned, here he is--let us say it directly--at times helpless and yields to a good musician-practitioner.

The melody--here it is, ready, but to "dress" it in appropriate contemporary arrangement, the author cannot do. Because he has a creative talent for melody, but he does not have a knowledge of contemporary orchestration for the stage. After this it is not surprising that we are frequently enraptured by our songs, but after having begun to sound with the arrangements of the well-known masters of the foreign orchestration of variety music, who knew very well how to reveal the rich timbre possibilities of the melody material.

So let us suppose that there are good poems and they are set to good music. But the song becomes a song only when it is performed. It is possible that someone among the readers will be surprised, having found out about the problem of "unsung" songs.

As a member of the creative commission for mass genres of the UkSSR Union of Composers, I will undertake to assert that many songs are written for the

stage. They are presented at the commissions of the Union of Composers, the UkrSSR Ministry of Culture, radio and television. The best among them are recommended for performance, are duplicated and sent to publishing houses and oblast philharmonic societies. But much of this thus remains on paper.

Practice has shown that--if a composer does not have direct contact with performers and if no interesting orchestration is created, his song for voice and piano, written in the silence of his study, may not be heard. And while the composers are isolated from the performing forces, the problem of "unsung songs" will not disappear from the agenda. Unwittingly the "seditious" question suggests itself: And what if composers were paid an honorarium not after writing a work, but after its performance? You know, any work becomes a real fact only after its recognition in cultural practice.

And the following must be said: For years on end some leading singers of Ukrainian variety music do not include in their programs the songs of Ukrainian authors. Meanwhile these performers have an obligation to the people, in whose name were awarded high honors.

But what is being done in the sphere of training personnel for the Ukrainian musical stage? Creative personnel--poets and composers, and performing personnel--musicians and singers? There are today in the republic no educational institutions--neither secondary or higher--where personnel for the stage would be trained (not counting some instrumentalists at the Kiev Music School). But the demand for them is great. Both for composers and for performers.

It is time that the "surpluses" be turned over to the stage. There are many choral conductors--go to the stage. If a student of vocal music does not turn into an opera singer--go to the stage. But they are not prepared: Variety music is a completely different art. It is good when a creative collective takes the function of educator upon itself. In that case positive results will not fail to show up. By way of example, the work of the music department of the Kiev Theater for Music and Drama (director A. Shapoval) yielded some new laureates: Of the All-Union Competition--N. Rozhkov, and the Republic Competition--L. Mikhaylenko and Yu. Vrublevskiy. It is desirable that such a creative atmosphere should prevail in many collectives. But this does not eliminate our interest in the creation of special educational institutions, where leading masters of the musical stage could transmit their knowledge to a new creative generation.

Another question which remains open is that of the creation of a theater of political music and drama, including the political song, in the republic. The performances of the ensemble "Grenada" (Moscow) confirm the interest of Soviet young people in the Soviet political song and make it possible to expand our concept of progressive foreign music, which fights for humanistic ideals and takes a stand against the "samples" of bourgeois mass culture. However, this question for the time being is not being solved by either the concert organizations, the creative unions, or the Ministry of Culture of the republic. An interesting beginning was made by the Kiev gorkom of the Komsomol in conducting the first city festival of the political

song (May 83). It brought together many young amateur performers and a large listening audience. And in September the Komsomol members of the city organized the republic's first club for political songs, which brings together the enthusiasts of this movement. . .

There are many problems, and the Ukrainian stage must solve them in order to meet the high demands of the time.

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